MODAL MODERNITIES

FORMATIONS OF PERSIAN CLASSICAL MUSIC AND THE RECORDING OF A NATIONAL TRADITION

MOHSEN MOHAMMADI

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Modal Modernities: Formations of Persian Classical Music and the Recording of a National Tradition

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Musicology

by

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2017

Utrecht University

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Printed by CreateSpace, An Amazon.com Company

ISBN-13: 978-1547227938
ISBN-10: 1547227931

Citations and bibliography generated by Zotero (http://www.zotero.org)

Cover photo:
Mozaffar-od-Din Shah with the Columbia Multiplex Grand Phonograph
Photo preserved at Golestan Palace in Tehran (Adle 2001)

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Acknowledgments

Achieving my PhD became possible because of the kind support and useful advice that I received from my advisers, Professors Karl Kügle, Eckhard Neubauer, Anthony Seeger, and Emile Wennekes, from the Netherlands, Germany, and the United States. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to my assessors, Professors Joep Bor, Rokus de Groot, Frank Kessler, Daniel M. Neuman, and Owen Wright, from the Netherlands, the United States, and the United Kingdom, who read and accepted my dissertation.

During my PhD research, I used various sources in European languages and I am thankful to Ruxandra Marinescu, Sarah Dellmann, Yuval Avital, and Morten Hein for helping me write English translations from French, German, Italian, and Danish, respectively. In obtaining several sources that I have used for this research study, I am deeply grateful to Joost van Gemert at Utrecht University Library for ordering digital copies of some rare material from the libraries in Europe and the United States and to Mehdi Mohammadi for obtaining copies of books and journals published in Iran. I am also grateful to Thomas Roos for helping me obtain the original copy of a rare doctoral thesis in France.

Introduction

The present study investigates how the Persian modal system evolved from its antecedents into a concept currently known as the twelve *dastgāh*. This study is divided into four parts, each containing three chapters. Part I studies how the concept of dastgāh was established in European and American publications, from the earliest instances in 1900 until the 1970s, when the concept of the twelve dastgāh was established. The main question this part addresses is how the insider and outsider interpretations were different, related, or hybridized. Part II studies the emergence of dastgāh in its local context by tracing the process of dastgāh's emergence and the grounds upon which the concept of dastgāh emerged, which is essential for understanding the evolution of dastgāh in the twentieth century. Part III studies the modal system of Persian music as it was practiced at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Persian musical system in 1900 differed from the modern system, which was established by the 1950s, and from the system that existed in the nineteenth century. Since the modal system of Persian Music in the nineteenth century was studied by Persian scholars who were historically distant from it, this part discusses the issue of the insiders' terminology versus the outsiders' interpretation. To investigate how music recordings influenced the modal system in the oral tradition of Persia, where live performances were traditionally the only medium for music, Part IV discusses the impact of the recording industry on the Persian modal system.

Overview of Chapter Contents

The first part of this research study provides a historical overview of the dastgāh system written in several European languages. As defined in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *Grove Music Online*, and *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, the Persian modal system is typically described in current ethnomusicological literature as a set of twelve dastgāh (Nettl 2015; Lawergren, Farhat, and Blum 2015; During 2011). Within Iran, however, the system is known as a set of seven dastgāh, which contains six or more secondary collections called āvāz (Talai 1995); the number of āvāz is usually reduced to five to arrive at twelve, because the number twelve has a strong symbolic value in Persian culture. Each dastgāh or āvāz contains a number of melodic pieces that have been passed

on orally, known as *gusheh* (literal meaning: corner). The entire repertory of gusheh in the seven dastgāh, with their advised order of performance, is called *radif* (literal meaning: row).

The first chapter is dedicated to the earliest moments when European audiences were introduced Persian music. As a rare instance in the history of Persia, the Shah[1] took a musician, Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun (1866?–1920?),[2] with him when he visited Europe in 1900. Because of the Shah's passion for music, his pianist chamberlain and Alfred Lemaire (1842–1907), the French bandmaster who had served at the Persian Court since 1868, created piano arrangements of pieces of Persian music, which also contained basic information on the Persian modes.

The second chapter presents a historical account of the musicology and ethnomusicology scholarship concerning the dastgāh system written in European languages, mainly French, German, and English, from 1900 to the early 1960s. The chapter includes the earliest articles, dissertations, and books on the dastgāh system in European languages, which were written by Persians. Although Persian students were sent to Europe as early as the 1810s, the first students of music attempted to improve their knowledge of European music and European musicology in the early twentieth century. Ali-Naqi Vaziri (1887–1979) was a pioneer in studying music in Europe. He audited classes at Ecole Superieure de Musique, a private school in Paris, from 1918 to 1921, then studied music pedagogy at Hochschule für Musik in Berlin from 1921 to 1923 (Khoshzamir 1979, 56–57). Mehdi Barkechli (1912–1987) conducted doctoral research in acoustics on the theme of Persian musical intervals at the University of Paris (Sorbonne) and Aix-Marseille University in the second half of the 1940s. Zaven Hacobian (1927–?) followed Barkechli and completed a doctoral dissertation in musicology at the University of Strasbourg in 1954.

The third chapter, which focuses on the emergence and adoption of the concept of the twelve dastgāh in European and American musicological literature, investigates a doctoral dissertation that was produced by a Persian musicologist, Khatschi Khatschi, at University of Cologne in Germany under the supervision of the German musicologist, Marius Schneider

[1] Shah is the title for the Persian kings. In this dissertation, it mainly refers to Nāser-od-din Shah Qājār (r.1848–1896) and his son Mozaffar-od-Din Shah Qājār (r.1896–1907).

[2] Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun (1866?–1920?), a Persian pianist who accompanied Mozaffar-od-Din Shah as one of the Shah's three chamberlains.

(Khatschi 1962). The chapter reviews Khatschi's thesis, investigates his sources, and traces Khatschi's impact on several musicologists who studied Persian music. Consequently, the notion of the twelve dastgāh became the common modal system of Persian music in ethnomusicological literature.

Part II of this study is dedicated to the emergence of the dastgāh in the context of Persian musical texts. It starts with the fourth chapter, which investigates mode classifications in Persia prior to the eighteenth century. The first section of this chapter describes the ancient modes, known as the seven *rāh*, which are attributed to Bārbad, the celebrated Persian musician of the late sixth to the early seventh century. The next section examines the first mode classification to be written down by Safi-od-Din Ormavi (d. 1294) and Mohammad Nishāburi, two authors in the thirteenth century, who based the classification on a set of twelve primary modes with six secondary modes. This classification became the dominant classification of modes shared among the authors of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish discourses on music. By the fifteenth century, a third set of twenty-four modes was added, and a century later, another set with forty-eight modes was added to the system. The last section of the chapter investigates a seventeenth-century concept of derivational relations between the four sets of modes and argues that the derivational relations were symbolic rather than structural.

The fifth chapter, which studies the emergence of dastgāh as a multimodal suite performance, examines the concept of proximity of the modes that was first written down in the fourteenth century by Qotb-od-Din Shirazi (1236–1311) and was later expanded by Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi (d. 1435). In the sixteenth century, a concept of modulation instructions for a set of four to five modes was written in anonymous musical texts and was developed into the concept of four *shad* in the seventeenth century; eventually, it was rebranded as dastgāh by the rise of the Qājār dynasty in the late eighteenth century.

The sixth chapter studies the establishment of dastgāh in the nineteenth century, when social stability and solid patronage provided an opportunity to expand musical activities. The two earliest dated texts were compiled in the first half of the nineteenth century, and they provide examples of a set of four or twelve dastgāh, each of which encompassed several modes. In the

second half of the nineteenth century, two other texts were compiled, which presented two more versions of a dastgāh set.

Part III provides historical information showing that modes in nineteenth-century Persian writings were referred to as *āvāz* and that this tradition continued in Persian texts of music produced in the early twentieth century. Chapter 7 examines Persian musical writings prior to 1900. The first section includes musical writings that used āvāz as a general term to refer to modes. That group included most of the musical writings that described a set of dastgāh. The next section of the chapter collates scattered information from various non-musical sources, which exhibit instances of using āvāz to refer to modes in general. The non-musical texts are invaluable support for the musical writings because they demonstrate the use of musical terms in everyday life. These texts include travel accounts by Persians of the elite class and the Royal Family, including Nāser-od-din Shah.

Chapter 8 considers āvāz as the general term for modes in various sources from 1900 to 1920. The first section reviews the early notations of Persian classical music that were published in France in 1900. In those publications, which were discussed in the first chapter, āvāz was the common term to refer to various modes. A few years later, the Gramophone Company recorded the first commercial recordings of Persian music. Their catalog of Persian records referred to modes as āvāz, and the first Persian book containing information on music, which was published in 1914, also used āvāz as the general term for modes. Another Persian book on music was authored about the same time and most of the independent modes were preceded by the term āvāz. At this time, dastgāh was rarely used as a general term to refer to modes.

Chapter 9 presents the first group of musical writings that were produced during the interwar period when Persian society experienced a new wave of intensified modernization under the newly risen king, Reza Shah Pahlavi (r. 1925–1941). It starts with publications by Ali-Naqi Vaziri (1887–1979), who was the first Persian to adopt European music theory to explain Persian modes. Vaziri still used āvāz to refer to modes in a broad sense; however, he considered four *gammes* (scales) condensed from the seven dastgāh to be the centerpiece of the Persian modal system. His main follower, Ruhollah Khaleqi (1906–1965), also became a very influential figure. Although he embodies the second generation of the hybrid Euro-Persian theory of the Persian

modal system, he used āvāz widely. Last, Mehdi-Qoli Hedāyat (1863–1955), a Persian aristocrat and musicophile, adopted European music theory and European acoustics in his book on the theory of Persian music. Hedāyat cited classical authors of musical texts in Arabic and Persian, namely Ormavi (d. 1294) and Marāghi (d. 1435), as well as modern European authors in music theory and acoustics such as Hermann von Helmholtz (1821–1894). Nevertheless, he also used āvāz as the general term for modes.

Part IV examines the impact of commercial recordings on the evolution and establishment of the Persian modal system. The tenth chapter presents a historical overview of the introduction of recording devices to Persian society, followed by an observation of the first commercial recordings of Persian music in 1906. This observation assumes an alternative angle by considering it a historical fieldwork and not simply an early recording session. Notably, the first recording session of Persian music became a unique field-recording, during which dozens of musicians and several bands found a chance to transmit their knowledge. Furthermore, the first Persian catalog influenced the evolution of the dastgāh system because, during that recording session and along with dozens of āvāz, a set of seven dastgāh were recorded on multiple tracks. Recording the set of the seven dastgāh had a determinant role in establishment of the seven dastgāh system. The chapter ends by discussing several issues related to the impact of music recordings on Persian musicians and Persian society.

The last two chapters conduct a qualitative data analysis of the modes recorded during eleven recording sessions held between 1906 and 1933 for which I could find catalogs. Eight of the eleven sessions were conducted by the Gramophone Company between 1906 and 1933, two were conducted by the Columbia Graphophone Company in 1928 and 1933, and one was conducted by Polyphon Musikwerke in 1928. Mode names are still considered single units in Chapter 11, even if they were mentioned on the same label as a second mode. Similarly, modes were considered single units even if they appeared on the B side of a double-sided record as an addendum to the mode that was the beginning of the performance appearing on the A side of the same record. The data analysis, which is conducted in a way that avoids random results and provides a meaningful reflection of mode popularity, will show how certain modes gain popularity and how recording strategies affected the popularity of the modes.

Chapter 12 analyzes the same data using an alternative approach. Unlike Chapter 11, which included all mode names on the labels, Chapter 12 considers a double-sided record as the unit for counting mode population with two approaches. In the first part of the chapter, the form of the performance is not taken into account; therefore, any double-sided record in a certain mode is counted as one of the population. In the second part, the form of the performance is observed as well. Performances on two sides of a record are classified into three categories: (a) a non-rhythmic piece with a rhythmic piece, (b) two non-rhythmic pieces, or (c) two rhythmic pieces. The data analysis shows the impact of the three types of performances on the popularity and hierarchy of the modes.

Research Question, Background, and Contribution

The present dissertation investigates the emergence and evolution of the modern interpretation of the modal system of the traditional urban Persian music. This study also addresses the dichotomy of the insider's understanding versus the outsider's interpretation in two dimensions of cultural and historical differences, and the hybridization of the insider-outsider in both directions of culture and history. That is, the twentieth-century writers, who established the modern interpretation of the Persian modal system, departed from fundamentally different categories and assumptions if compared with the traditional Persian musicians of the nineteenth century, not only in terms of their common understandings and cosmology but also in terms of the musical concepts and terminology. Demonstrating and understanding these historical differences requires familiarity with the native knowledge of the Persian music in the nineteenth century, which could only be possible by using a variety of different sources, including musical manuscripts, early Persian music publications, early European publications of Persian music, catalogs of commercial records, and newspapers, diaries, and travel accounts from the nineteenth century.

The main research question can be divided into several specific questions: How did the twelve dastgāh system emerge in the literature of musicology and ethnomusicology? How did the concept of dastgāh emerge in the native context of Persian music? What was the native interpretation of the Persian modal system prior to the intense modernization of the Persian society in the first half of the twentieth century? Among the other factors, how did early commercial

recordings of music influence the Persian modal system? The four parts of this dissertation attempt to answer these four questions.

The first part of the dissertation is a general survey of the musicological literature on the concept of dastgāh from its first presence until 1970s, when the Persian modal system was established as a set of twelve dastgāh. This part describes the introduction of the seven dastgāh to the European musicology literature and its evolution to the twelve dastgāh. Although musicological and ethnomusicological literature on Persian music are used and cited, a critical overview of the formation of that literature has not been published yet.

The second part discusses the emergence of the dastgāh within its local context using Persian musical texts. The establishment of the dastgāh seems to have been in question since it was first established. The author of the earliest dated text on a dastgāh system simply attributed the set of twelve dastgāh to a celebrated musician from his previous generation (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 13r).[1] In 1914, the first published Persian book on music was released, and the author attributed the dastgāh system to "recent times" (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 28).

Scholars started writing about the history of dastgāh in the last years of the twentieth century, thus drawing the attention of more scholars and resulting in the publication of several works on the subject in recent years. Although that breakthrough might simply be because new methods and technologies made sources available, there are two more reasons that might have contributed. First, the Department of Music at the University of Tehran reopened in 1988 after it was closed for a decade during the Cultural Revolution that followed the Islamic Revolution of 1979. A new generation of musicians and musicologists resumed studying there and, unlike the previous generation of musicologists whose original passion and training was European classical music, many of the students who produced material on the history of dastgāh had a background in Persian classical music.

In 1996, Mohammad-Taghi Massoudieh published an informative catalog of Persian musical texts in the RISM series (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales), in which he introduced three manuscripts that included the term dastgāh: (a) an anonymous manuscript

[1] For a printed version of this text see (Mohammadi 2013).

preserved at the Central Library of the University of Tehran, (b) a manuscript he identified as *Kolliāt-e Yusofi* preserved at a private library, and (c) a song-text collection preserved at the Iranian Library of the Parliament (Massoudieh 1996, 197–98, 239, 317–18). A year later, his transcription of the radif was published with a brief introduction on the history of dastgāh, using scattered information from four manuscripts: (a) the aforementioned anonymous manuscript preserved at the Central Library of University of Tehran, (b) a microfilm of an anonymous manuscript held at the same library, (c) a religious text preserved at the Malek Library in Tehran containing poems to be chanted during mourning rituals for the third Imam of the Shia Muslims, and (d) the manuscript in private ownership that he identified as *Kolliāt-e Yusofi* (Massoudieh 1997, 38–39). Massoudieh arranged the information from the first three manuscripts in what he assumed to be their historical order, adding that "the concept of dastgāh in the abovementioned manuscripts seems to be unrelated to the form of dastgāh that today is common in traditional music of Iran," and he described the form of dastgāh as the suite performance of Pish-Darāmad, Chahār-mezrāb, Āvāz, Tasnif, and Reng (Massoudieh 1997, 38). He then cited the list of twelve dastgāh from the fourth manuscript, stating that the set of twelve dastgāh is the same concept of dastgāh that is perceived today (Massoudieh 1997, 39). The manuscript provided a simple list of twelve names, which seemed to confirm that Massoudieh's conclusion was mainly reached because the list included the names of the seven dastgāh that became the dominant system in the early twentieth century.

In 2001, Hooman Asadi published an article on the history of dastgāh; he tried to draw a historical line for the evolution of dastgāh using the same manuscripts used by Massoudieh and an anonymous manuscript preserved at the Malek Library in Tehran, which provided information on a set of four dastgāh (Asadi 2001). Asadi published an English version of his article in 2008 (Asadi 2008) and he published a revised version of his article in 2004 (Asadi 2010). In 2006, he included the revised version of his article in his PhD dissertation at Tarbiat Modares University in Tehran, which was a comparative analysis of two versions of the radif attributed to Mirza Abdollah and Mirza Hoseyn-Qoli, the celebrated masters of the late nineteenth century (Asadi 2006).[1] According to Asadi, "The process of evolution of the Persian classical music system, from the maqam to the

[1] Mirza Abdollah and Mirza Hoseyn-Qoli were the sons of Āqā Ali-Akbar, the legendary master of the mid-nineteenth century. There is sufficient evidence to conclude that Āqā Ali-Akbar was the younger brother of Āqā Mohammad-Reza, one of the few identified Persian musicians from the early nineteenth century and the first identified master of the tar and setar, the two plucked stringed instruments of Persian urban music; see: (Mohammadi 2014).

dastgāh system and the formation of the idea of the *radif*, seems to have gradually taken place in five stages" (Asadi 2001, 71, 2008, 25). Thus, he concludes the following about the first and second stages: "The dastgāh in this sense [first stage] seems to have been associated with the cyclic structure of certain *maqāms*. In the second stage, presumably later in the 17th century, the dastgāh concept gains more importance as a criterion to organize aspects of the musical system. In this period four principal *dastgāhs*, in terms of cycles accommodating several modes or *maqāms*, seem to have been introduced into musical practice" (Asadi 2001, 71, 2008, 25). During the third to the fifth stages, Asadi explains that the same concept of dastgāh as "a criterion to organize aspects of the musical system" evolves into the current system of classical music in Iran. In his revised version, Asadi combines the first and second stages and distinguishes four stages (Asadi 2010, 58). Thus, the concept of dastgāh at its earliest stage was "related to the cyclic structure of modes and sequences of pieces in various modes or maqāms. It also becomes another criterion in organizing the common musical system in the form of the 'four principle dastgāhs', while, the maqām system was still prevalent" (Asadi 2010, 58). Asadi's explanation therefore implies that, prior to the dastgāh system, Persian music was based on the *maqam* system, with maqam representing a mode; however, certain maqams had a cyclic structure and incorporated other modes. This indicates that dastgāh was rooted in those particular maqams with a cyclic structure.

In 1999, Seyyed-Hossein Meisami submitted his MA thesis on the music in Persia under the Safavid Dynasty (1501–1722) in which he suggested a possible relation between the concept of the four *shad* and the dastgāh system (Meisami 1999). Meisami revised and published his thesis in 2010 and, although he referred to a possible relation between shad and dastgāh, he concluded that shad was a transposition of the modes (Meisami 2010, 221). In his revised version, Meisami includes a section on dastgāh in which he mainly cites the same manuscripts that Massoudieh introduced; however, he fails to reach a solid conclusion about the concept of dastgāh (Meisami 2010, 207–9). This is perhaps because, or even why, he considers manuscripts individually and does not make an overall conclusion. Meisami suggests that dastgāh could have been a characteristic of some modes but not of others, which he interprets as a characteristic that makes it possible to compose pieces in a mode. Thus, he suggests that those modes with dastgāh characteristic are related to the principle scale, but fails to explain further about what a principle scale would be, although it seems that he has assumed a system of principle modes and derived or related modes. He ends his explanation by citing a non-musical text that had a reference to music

and he suggests that the concept of dastgāh was based on a term used to indicate playing various modes.

Some scholars have written about the history of dastgāh within a related topic. William Sumits produced a PhD dissertation on the history of Shash-Maqam in central Asia and dedicated a chapter to the concept of the four shad and their relation to the dastgāh. However, he tended to give a bigger role to Central Asia than to Persia in the formation of the concept of dastgāh (Sumits 2011). Scholars such as Eckhard Neubauer have introduced musical texts that were previously unknown (Neubauer 2007), and I have introduced two previously unknown manuscripts into the discussion (Mohammadi 2004, 2013). Amir Hossein Pourjavady and Babak Khazrai have made contributions to the study of the history of dastgāh with their published musical texts (*e.g.*, Pourjavady 2001; Khazrai 2013).

In response to Asadi, I published my first article on dastgāh in 2001 in which I concluded that dastgāh was essentially formed by developing instructions for playing modes together (Mohammadi 2001). I consider it a method of developing multimodal performance patterns within the then-current mode classification that, I believe, came to stand quite far from the practice of music by the eighteenth century. I attempted to draw an extended historical line from the concept of proximity of modes by Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi to a set of brief modulation instructions, which was further developed into the concept of shad and was finally rebranded as dastgāh. I finished my MA in History at the University of Tehran in February 2006 by submitting a thesis on the history of the dastgāh (Mohammadi 2006b), which was an extended and elaborated version of my article. In this research study, not only have I reorganized my arguments in a clearer and more meaningful way, but I have also extended the historical line a century backwards. In the fifth chapter, I show that the concept of 'proximity of notes' (*tashārok an-nagham*) was written down when the two writers of the thirteenth century, Safi-od-Din Ormavi and Mohammad Nishāburi, produced treatises on the system of twelve and six modes.

The topics presented in the third and fourth parts have not yet been specifically addressed. I included a chapter on the multiplicity of āvāz in the Persian musical system in my Master's thesis (Mohammadi 2006b, 50–56). Using the Gramophone Company's Persian catalog and a manuscript on a set of seven dastgāh, I concluded that āvāz referred to the secondary modes within a dastgāh.

However, here, I argue that āvāz was a general term referring to modes and was thus a mode unit of Persian music.

In Part IV, I conduct a statistical analysis of the mode population on record labels from the first three decades of recording Persian music, from 1906 to 1933. Writing about early Persian recordings has become a trendy topic in the field of Iranian musicology since the new generation of Iranian musicologists started working around the beginning of the twenty-first century. Sasan Sepanta, a linguist and amateur musician, was a pioneer in this field and his contribution includes several articles and a book on the history of music recording in Iran from phonograph to digital recordings (Sepanta 1998). Michael Kinnear has also made an outstanding contribution to Indian discography, and he published a catalog of Persian records by the Gramophone Company as a by-product of his work on Indian records (Kinnear 2000b).

Amir Mansour, a passionate record collector in Tehran, has published articles on themes related to the recording industry. From 2005 to 2009, Mansour produced his quarterly journal of discography titled *Safheh Sangi*, and he maintains his website for Persian discography at *www.oirvm.com*. Perhaps because of his education in engineering, he has employed data analysis in his arguments. In one of his articles, he prepares charts that show the population of recorded tracks by each musician during the recording session in London. The charts reveal that one leading instrumentalist failed to participate in a recording for five consecutive days during the eleven-day recording session. Since there has been no report on a debilitating illness during the recording session, Amir Mansour concludes that problems must have arisen among the musicians (Mansour 2006, 25).

I started working on Persian records around 2000 and, in 2007, I published a Persian translation of Michael Kinnear's catalog of Persian records (Kinnear 2007). Based on the original Persian catalogs by the Gramophone Company in 1906 as a primary source of information, I concluded in my MA thesis that secondary modes within the dastgāh were called āvāz (Mohammadi 2006b, 52–54). In this dissertation, I conduct a qualitative analysis of the Persian catalogs to study the impact of recording music on the modal system of Persian music. Analyzing record catalogs shows how music recordings influenced mode popularity and hierarchy.

Methodology

This research study has two main focuses: the first on traditional music in an oral culture within the field of ethnomusicology, and the second on the written and auditory witnesses of the modal system that could be situated in the field of musicology. Additionally, since it is a historical research, it falls into the field of history. This research study thus falls into the category of historical musicology or historical ethnomusicology within the broader spectrum of musicology and ethnomusicology.

This study employs general methods of musicology, ethnomusicology, and history. During my BA in music at the University of Tehran, I studied and practiced the methodologies of ethnomusicology. As I was interested in historical subjects, I studied history for an MA at the University of Tehran, where I learned and practiced the methodologies of historical research. I then had a chance to join graduate seminars in historical musicology at Utrecht University after I started my PhD there, and I had an opportunity to attend graduate seminars in ethnomusicology at the University of California, Los Angeles, as an exchange student.

Since early recordings and record catalogs are the main sources used for Part IV of this research, this study also employs research methods from the field of discography that I practiced while preparing a Persian translation of an English catalog of Persian records. Persian manuscripts are the main sources in the second part of this study; I practiced methods of working with Persian and Arabic manuscripts, including codicology and bibliography, with Seyyed-Abdollah Anvār, librarian and former director of the Department of Manuscripts at the National Library of Iran while I was studying at the University of Tehran. It is critical for the current study to possess skills in using Persian manuscripts because many Persian musical manuscripts lack the author's name, the date, or both.

In Part IV, I apply basic statistical analysis, which I practiced when I attended Sharif University of Technology in Tehran in 1990 for my first higher education program. Data were extracted from the early catalogs of Persian records and used in the form of absolute frequency of modes, or the number of records in a certain mode; relative frequency of modes, or the number of records in a certain mode in relation to the total number of records; and cumulative frequency of modes, or the integrated number of records in a certain mode, which shows the total number of

records in a certain mode in a certain period. Data are shown as graphs generated by Microsoft Excel.

Source Criticism and Critical Reading

Since this is a historical research in an oral tradition, it is essential to employ source criticism, particularly because this study challenges conventional literature on the history of the Persian musical system. Although it seems obvious to evaluate historical sources, it seems that many Iranian musicologists and most European and American ethnomusicologists have taken all Persian sources at face value. It is essential to employ source criticism and to evaluate written sources carefully while working on societies in which knowledge is generally transmitted orally. In such cases, the earliest sources are usually the earliest reminiscences that, for some systematic or accidental reasons, had a chance to be written down. Because these sources are often mythological in nature, they might lack a factual basis or historical validity, particularly because they are usually generated to show an assumed glory, which in most cases would be related to a nostalgia for the music and culture of the previous generations. The following examples might clarify what I mean by this and why I highlight source criticism.

Early sources of information on music in Persia are typically nostalgic accounts within fabulous and mythological stories. Ahmad Azod-od-Dowleh and Dust-Ali Mo'ayyer-ol-Mamālek are two examples of such accounts. The two Qājār princes wrote their childhood reminiscences of the harem of the two great kings of the Qājār Dynasty, Fath-Ali Shah (r.1797–1834) and Nāser-od-din Shah (r.1848–1896) (Azod-od-Dowleh 1889; Moayyer-ol-Mamālek 1972). Being reminiscences would be reason enough to cast doubt on the validity of the narratives by the two writers: however, they were writing about their childhood recollections in their old age, and about the glory of their Royal Grandfather. Azod-od-Dowleh admitted that part of his information came from stories he had heard from elderly members of the family (Azod-od-Dowleh 1889, 3). Therefore, extra caution must be exercised when using such sources.

The first published book on the history of music in Persia was compiled by a musician who was not only trained in European music, but also seemed to be sufficiently familiar with the French language to use French musicological literature. Ruhollah Khaleqi (1906–1965) was a dedicated

follower of Ali-Naqi Vaziri (1887–1979), the celebrated pioneer of borrowing the theory and practice of European music to 'modernize' Persian music. Although Khaleqi was a faithful follower of Vaziri and believed in applying the theory and practice of European music, he was concerned about the extent of the Europeanization of Persian music. Ironically, his account opposed the Europeanization of music (Khaleqi 1955, 1), and he thus wrote nostalgic reminiscences of Vaziri and his school to provide an example of decent and valuable music. Khaleqi's book has two volumes: the first volume provides historical information on Persian music until 1920s when Vaziri returned from Europe. The second volume is completely dedicated to Vaziri and his activities. A third volume, which was released later, consists of the author's unpublished notes from both volumes (Khaleqi 2011). In the first volume, Khaleqi did not narrate his reminiscences, but instead delivered his version of narratives he had heard from other musicians. He stated that he adopted a "story-telling style" to make his account more attractive (Khaleqi 1955, 2–3). Hasan Mashhun (1906–1980) and Hoseyn-Ali Mallāh (1921–1992) wrote books and articles on the history of Persian music in the 1950s (*e.g.*, Mallah 1990; Mashhun 2001). Since they both write about Persian musicians and European music in Persia based upon oral narratives, their accounts are similar to Khaleqi's books. All three authors share most of the narratives on the history of music in Iran; however, Khaleqi was a well-known composer and the first writer to produce a book on Persian musicians rather than music theory, and with his story-telling style, his book became the most popular and most cited account of the history of Persian music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

European accounts on Persian music need a sufficiently critical evaluation, such as *La Musique Chez les Persans en 1885* (Advielle 1885), which is a short account of Persian music that was generated for a regional patriotic purpose. This account, which has been used widely, became the sole reference for European military music in Persia. However, the patriotic motivation behind compiling that book became a reason to downgrade other European musicians' efforts in favor of the author's fellow Artesian compatriot, Alfred Lemaire (1842–1907). Ancient Persian musical texts also require source criticism and critical reading. For instance, the author of a treatise titled *Bahjat-or-Ruh* introduced himself as Abd-ol-Mo'men ebn Safi-ed-Din ebn […] Qābus ebn-e Voshmgir to use the fame of Safi-od-Din Abd-ol-Mo'men Ormavi, the celebrated musician, and Qābus ebn-e Voshmgir of the Ziyarid Dynasty (930–1090). Moreover, he dedicated his book to

Mahmud of Ghazni (r. 998–1002) while mentioning Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi (d. 1435) (Ebn Safi-od-Din 1636, 116),[1] which suggests that the contents of the text cannot be taken at face value.

Sources

The first part of the present study is based on publications on music, musicology, and ethnomusicology from Europe and the United States. This part incorporates rare published transcriptions from 1900 that presented performances of Persian music in Europe, chapters or sections on music from publications on Persian arts and culture, chapters and sections on Persian music from a musicology book and music encyclopedia, doctoral dissertations on Persian music, and early ethnomusicological publications on Persian music.

Part II is mainly based on Persian musical texts from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries, but also incorporates a few texts pertaining to general history, such as the Arabic text on the Persian Kings by al-Tha'ālibi, which includes information on music in Persia (Tha'ālibi 1900). Musical manuscripts include an Arabic text by Safi-od-Din Ormavi (Ormavi n.d.)[2] and a Persian treatise by Mohammad Nishāburi (Nishāburi 1265),[3] two authors from the thirteenth century, a commentary on Ormavi's book from the fourteenth century (Q.-D. Shirazi 1306),[4] a treatise by Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi from the fifteenth century (A.-Q. Marāghi 1418),[5] and several anonymous manuscripts from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The latter group consists of a few manuscripts, which include the date or author's name; however, many of them are anonymous undated manuscripts. When citing musical texts, I have used a copy that is accessible online in most cases, unless there was a reason to cite a specific copy. However, to acknowledge efforts by the scholars who published some of those musical texts, I add a footnote to refer to a published version at the first instance of citing a text. Most of the source publications have been released as articles in rare journals, making it extremely difficult to find all of the published versions,

[1] For a printed version of this text see: (Ebn Safi-od-Din 1967).

[2] For a printed version of this text see: (Ormavi 1984).

[3] For a printed version of this text see: (Pourjavady 1995).

[4] For a printed version of this text see: (Q.-D. Shirazi 1945).

[5] For a printed version of this text see: (A.-Q. Marāghi 1966).

especially for readers outside of Iran. It is more practical for writers and readers to use online reproductions of manuscripts. Nevertheless, acknowledgements are due to those scholars who worked before the advent of the digital age.

Part III incorporates the three main categories of sources used in Parts I, II, and IV: some of the European publications on Persian music from Part I; Persian publications on music from the first half of the twentieth century; some manuscripts from Part II; other musical texts from the early twentieth century; and the earliest record catalog from Part IV. Part III also uses non-musical texts from the nineteenth century, including diaries and travel journals written in Persian by Persian elites such as the Shah.

Part IV is based on the record label information from eleven recording sessions by three recording companies. Five original catalogs were used from the first sessions held in 1906, 1909, and 1912, which were conducted by the Gramophone Company. Records from the recording session in 1906 were released as single-sided records in 1906 and reissued as double-sided records in 1908. Two catalogs, which were prepared and published for release, were used for data analysis (Gramophone 1906, 1908), as well as two other catalogs, which presented records from the recording sessions in 1909 and 1912 (Gramophone 1909, 1912, 1913). The fifth catalog, published in 1914, which presented all records as double-sided records from the recording sessions in 1906, 1909, and 1912, was also used in the data analysis (Gramophone 1914). Another original record catalog that was used here presented records that were taken by Polyphon Musikwerke in 1928 (Polyphon 1928). The Gramophone Company conducted several recording sessions in Tehran in 1926, 1928, 1929 (two sessions), and 1933. The Columbia Graphophone Company conducted two recording sessions in Tehran in 1928 and 1933. Information about these seven recording sessions was obtained from a recently prepared and published catalog of Persian records (Kinnear 2000b).

Basic Terminology of Persian Music

Pardeh, Maqām, Āvāz, Sho'beh, Gusheh: Various historical terms for sets of modes. These terms are used for different sets of modes by different authors; however, pardeh and maqam were mostly used for the primary set of modes, while *sho'beh* and gusheh were used for additional sets of modes. Āvāz was used for additional sets of modes and for modes in general.

Radif: The repertory of Persian music comprising hundreds of pieces that were transmitted orally and transcribed in the early twentieth century.

Dastgāh: Multimodal suites that form the basis of the Persian modal system today.

Āvāz: Historical term for modes which, inside Iran, refers to a few smaller suites within the seven dastgāh; it also refers to a non-rhythmic vocal performance. In ethnomusicology literature, āvāz refers to the non-rhythmic part of a dastgāh performance.

Gusheh: The historical term for modes, which now refers to the pieces within a dastgāh or āvāz that are recognizable and have specific names.

Tasnif: A rhythmic vocal performance.

Pish-Darāmad, Chahār-mezrāb, Reng: Rhythmic instrumental pieces: Pish-Darāmad is usually played at the beginning of a performance, Chahār-mezrāb could be performed at the beginning or during the course of a performance, and Reng is usually played at the end of a performance; dances are accompanied by a Reng or Chahār-mezrāb

Transliteration and Word Forms

Vowels:

A	ـَ	as in add	Ā	آ	as in under
E	ـِ	as in egg	I	ای	as in eat
O	ـُ	as in orange	U	او	as in Urfa

Consonants:

‘	ع	kh	خ	t	ت ط
Ch	چ	q	ق	v	و
Gh	غ	s	ث س ص	z	ذ ز ض ظ
H	ح ه	sh	ش	zh	ژ

- The plural forms of Persian and Arabic words are used as they would be expressed in their native context, *e.g.*, seven dastgāh and five āvāz, and not by adding an s or es to the end of the word. However, if the original text uses plural forms of a term, such as *āvāzeh-hā* in Persian and *āvāzāt* in Arabic for the term *āvāzeh*, the original plural forms are used in direct quotations.
- Variations of a specific term, such as āvāz and āvāzeh, are used interchangeably as they appear in the original text.
- The apostrophe, which stands for the letter ع, is not added if it is the first or last letter of the word, *e.g.*, Ali instead of ‘Ali and Mobarqa instead of Mobarqa‘.

- Persian words that are common in the English language are used according to their English version, such as Shiraz, Shah, and Khan instead of Shirāz, Shāh, and Khān.
- Some of the common social titles in Persian, such as Mirza or Khan, have become given names or surnames in India and are thus recognized and treated as given names or surnames in most English texts. I have tried to omit those titles because they were not part of the musicians' names in Persia. However, if a musician's name has been widely repeated with a certain social title, that name is mentioned with that social title because it is odd for Persians to use Abdollah, Hoseyn-Qoli, and Darvish for Mirza Abdollah, Āqā Hoseyn-Qoli, and Darvish Khan, respectively. However, as Mirza, Āqā, and Khan were not given names or surnames; a certain musician's name, such as Hoseyn-Qoli, could be mentioned with all or any combination of those social titles, such as Āqā Mirza Hoseyn-Qoli Khan.

Part I: The Dastgāh System in European Writings; The Hybridization of the Outsider-Insider

Introduction to Part I

Part I of this dissertation shows how the dastgāh system was introduced to the literature of musicology and ethnomusicology and how its discourse evolved into the concept of the twelve dastgāh. The first section of this first chapter focuses on the first accounts of the dastgāh system in a European language. These accounts were three piano scores entitled *Dèst-gâh-é Homâyoûn*, *Avâz Mâhoûr*, and *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans*, which were reconstructed improvisations accompanied by rhythmic pieces. The chapter also attempts to clarify who was behind the preparation of those scores to evaluate the qualities of the reconstructed improvisations. The second section presents a short note to *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans*, which was reproduced partially in the journal that published *Avâz Mâhoûr*. That note introduced the term dastgāh to the European musicologists.

Chapter 2 presents accounts of dastgāh written in the European languages (English, French, and German) that were published in the first half of the twentieth century. The accounts were written by Eugène Aubin, Nikolaus Tigranoff, Clément Huart, and Abbas Mehrin. From the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century, several Iranian students studied musicology in Europe and eventually produced dissertations and papers that deeply influenced the ethnomusicological literature on Persian music. Therefore, the remainder of Chapter 2 discusses the works of Mehdi Barkechli, Zaven Hacobian, Parviz Mahmoud, and Hormoz Farhat that were published in the 1950s.

In 1962, Khatschi Khatschi, another Iranian student who studied musicology in Germany, published his doctoral dissertation on the dastgāh system. He was the first writer to introduce the system of twelve dastgāh to the European musicologists and ethnomusicologists. Chapter 3, which is dedicated to reviewing the concept of the twelve dastgāh, discusses Khatschi Khatschi's dissertation and examines the works of Edith Gerson-Kiwi, Hormoz Farhat, Ella Zonis, and Bruno Nettl, all of whom were influenced by Khatschi's idea of the twelve dastgāh. This chapter also discusses a book by Nelly Caron and Dariouche Safvate, which provided an alternative interpretation of the dastgāh system.

The first part of the dissertation shows how the dominant interpretation of the dastgāh system emerged in the literature of musicology and ethnomusicology. It shows that a system of seven dastgāh and five sub-dastgāh, which was introduced by a Persian musicologist and published

in French in the mid-twentieth century, was later redefined as the twelve dastgāh system by another Persian musicologist and published in German.

Chapter 1: The Earliest Documentations of the Dastgāh in Europe

Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun and Alfred Lemaire: A Persian Pianist and his European teacher

In 1868, a French bandmaster known as Alfred Jean-Baptiste Lemaire (1842–1907) arrived in Tehran and started reorganizing military bands for the Persian Court. He lived there until his death in 1907. Alfred Lemaire is praised as the hero who introduced European music to Persia;[1] however, it was actually Lemaire himself who, with the help of his Artesian compatriot, Victor-Hyacinthe Advielle (1833–1903), portrayed himself as a hero (Mohammadi 2016). Alfred Lemaire started publishing pieces of Persian music for the piano in France when Nāser-od-Din Shah (r. 1848–1896) paid his first visit to Europe in 1873.[2] His publications were primarily Persian songs or pieces for military bands in European style, such as *Hymne national persan, suivi de 20 airs populaires persans pour piano* (Lemaire 1873a). However, in 1885, Alfred Lemaire included a piece for the piano in his new publication, *Airs populaires persans*, which was introduced as "Hâvâs Irani" (Lemaire 1881a, 12–14). The piece featured an imitation of free-meter improvisations called āvāz, which, as I discuss in Part III, were units of the repertory of Persian court music.

Nāser-od-Din Shah was assassinated in 1896 while preparing to celebrate his fiftieth lunar year jubilee as the ruler of Persia, and his heir apparent was crowned as Mozaffar-od-Din Shah (r. 1896–1907). Mozaffar-od-Din Shah (b. 1853) suffered from chronic health issues including gout, which eventually caused his death in 1907, despite trying every possible treatment that was offered by European physicians. Mozaffar-od-Din Shah even travelled for therapeutic sojourns at health resorts in Europe, and the first of such trips took place in 1900, when he left Tehran for

[1] For example, Iranian National Television recently broadcasted a documentary movie on Alfred Lemaire that introduced him as the hero who introduced European music to Persia; see (Pourmandan 2016)

[2] His publications have recently been reproduced in a volume containing early European notations of Persian music (Mohammadi 2015).

Contrexéville. Following his father's example, he wrote a travel diary, which was published in Tehran a year after he returned (M.-D. Shah 1901). On Monday June 18, 1900, the Shah wrote in his diary: "The Secretary of the Court introduced Dr. Jaccoud,[1] Dr. Dieulafoy, Dr. Adcock,[2] Dr. Schneider,[3] and Dr. Pfeiffer of Germany" (M.-D. Shah 1901, 83).[4]

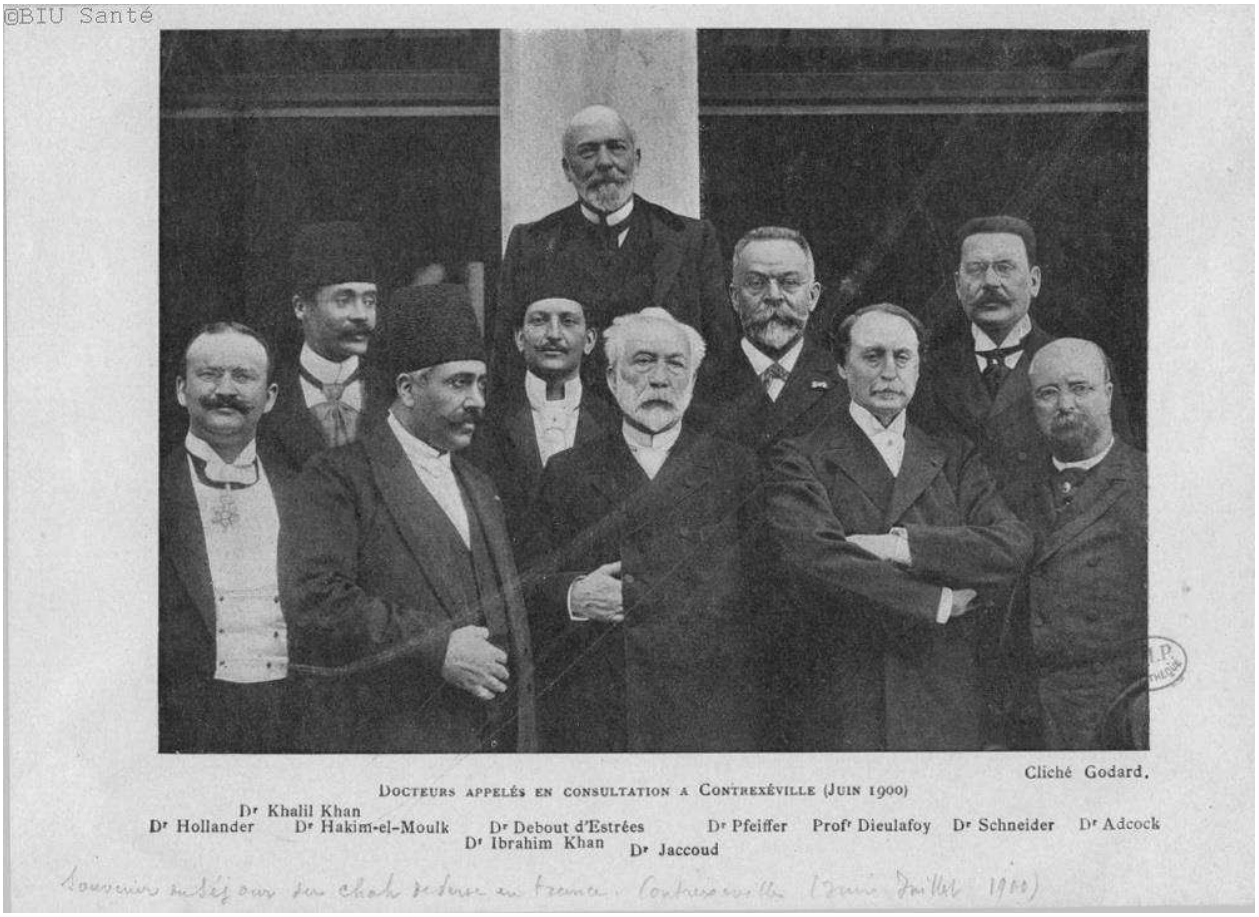


Figure 1: The board of the Shah's physicians photographed in Contrexéville in 1900

Bibliothèque interuniversitaire de santé ("Docteurs Appelés En Consultation À Contrexéville" 2013).

[1] Sigismond François Jaccoud (1830–1913), president of the Académie Impériale de Médecine of France.

[2] Sir Hugh Adcock (1847–1920), British medical doctor and diplomat, one of the chief physicians to Mozaffar-od-Din Shah. He was later appointed Persian Consul-General in Florence.

[3] Jean-Etienne Justin Schneider (?), French medical doctor and diplomat, one of the chief physicians to Mozaffar-od-Din Shah.

[4] «وزیر دربار دکتر ژاکوت و دکتر دیالافوا و دکتر ادکاک و دکتر شنیدر و دکتر فایفر آلمانی را به حضور آورد.»

The Shah's visit had a significant influence on Contrexéville. For example, according to the official webpage of the municipality, the Persian national emblem of the Lion and the Sun was added to Contrexéville's coat-of-arms ("Blason et Devise" 2013), and the main street of the town was renamed Rue du Shah de Perse, a name which remains today ("Rue Du Shah de Perse" 2013).

L'aigle polonais est un hommage rendu à l'ex-roi Stanislas Leszczynski, duc de Lorraine, beau-père de Louis XV, qui envoya le docteur Bagard, son premier médecin, étudier les propriétés des eaux de Contrexéville. La mort tragique du souverain en exil (sa robe de chambre prit feu accidentellement) eut pour conséquence directe le rattachement des duchés de Lorraine et de Bar à la couronne de France (1766).

Le Lion brandissant un sabre et le soleil évoquent le drapeau de la Perse dont l'un des souverains séjourna par trois fois dans la ville, au début du siècle, pour y suivre une cure bienfaisante.

La bande ondulée transversale (l'onde d'argent, l'eau) symbolise la vocation thermale de la cité.

Figure 2: Snapshot of the website of the municipality of Contrexéville

("Blason et Devise" 2013).

Mozaffar-od-Din Shah brought three chamberlains as companions from Persia to entertain him during his visit to Contrexéville (M.-D. Shah 1901, 93–94): Nāser-ol-Molk, Nāser-e Khāqān, and Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun (1866?–1920?). Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun was a pianist who had studied music with Alfred Lemaire. Seven of the Shah's companions were sent to Paris on Tuesday, June 19, 1900, each of whom had a personal or royal mission to accomplish, and Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun was among the group (M.-D. Shah 1901, 85). The following week, on Tuesday, June 26, 1900, the Shah wrote in his diary: "Nāser-Homāyun and *Monsieur* Lemaire, whom we had sent to Paris, came back today. They have accomplished our commands regarding the *note-hā* of *musique* very well" (M.-D. Shah 1901, 90)[1] (Italics are used for French words and specific terms in the original Persian text. It applies to all quotations translated from Persian). As *Monsieur* Lemaire was not among the group of companions who had been sent to Paris the week before, it is possible that he was already in Paris and had joined Nāser-Homāyun in the French capital to

[1] «ناصر همایون و مسیو لمر را که به پاریس فرستاده بودیم، امروز آمده و فرمایشات ما را از بابت نوت های موزیک به خوبی انجام داده‌اند.»

travel to the Shah's party in Contrexéville. His Majesty's commands regarding the *note-hā* of *musique* were revealed on Friday, June 29:

> After drinking some water, they said that some *note-hā* of *āvāz-e Irani*, which Nāser-Homāyun had prepared and given to the *orchestre-hā* [sic, French bands], were being played. We went and watched. They were playing very well. Yamin-os-Saltaneh and some others were present. In truth, Arsalān Khan Nāser-Homāyun has trained them well. (M.-D. Shah 1901, 92)[1]

On the following day, the Shah mentioned that "the *orchestra-hā* played some *musique-e Irani* and they played very well, all the *Farangi-hā* (Europeans) admired *note-e Irani*" (M.-D. Shah 1901, 92)[2] (Italics show use of specific terms and French words). He attended a *concert* on the following Tuesday, July 3, which he described as follows:

> A lady, who was very charming and solemn and had a fur of white fox around her neck, sang, and she sang very well. It is clear that she is a noblewoman. Then we told Nāser-Homāyun to play the piano, he played very well. All the *Farangi-hā* (Europeans) applauded. (M.-D. Shah 1901, 95)[3]

After Nāser-Homāyun's piano performance, he spent time training the unidentified lady to sing Persian melodies with Persian lyrics. She apparently practiced with Nāser-Homāyun for a couple of days while the Shah paid a visit to the nearby town of Épinal. When the Shah returned, he listened to the lady's performance in Persian, as he stated on Saturday, July 7, 1900:

> That lady, who we have mentioned sometimes and who we thought had excellent singing skills, finally came and sang, but she sang *Farangi* [European] pieces. During the last couple of days, Arsalān Khan [Nāser-Homāyun] and *Monsieur* Lemaire have taught her *āvāz-e Irani* and Persian poems using *note*. Today, they said she was ready to sing *āvāz-e Irani*, so we went to the room in front of the

[1] «بعد از آب خوردن عرض کردند بعضی نوت های آواز ایرانی را که ناصر همایون درست کرده و به ارکست ها داده بود، مشغول زدن هستند. رفتیم دیدیم خیلی خوب می‌زدند. یمین السلطنه و جمعی دیگر همراه بودند. الحق ارسلان خان ناصر همایون هم خیلی خوب از عهدهٔ تعلیم آن‌ها برآمده است.»

[2] «ارکس‌ها قدری موزیک ایرانی زدند و خیلی خوب می‌زدند. تمام فرنگی‌ها نوت ایرانی را پسندیده‌اند.»

[3] «یک خانمی که خیلی خوشگل و موقّر است و پوست روباه سفیدی در گردنش بود، آواز خواند و بسیار خوب خواند. معلوم می‌شود از نجباء است. بعد ناصر همایون را فرمودیم پیانو زد، خیلی خوب زد، تمام فرنگی‌ها تمجید کردند.»

> *théâatre*, where our companions and some of the *Farangi-hā* [Europeans] were sitting. Nāser-Homāyun played the piano and the young female singer started singing. She sang *āvāz-e Irani* so well that we were surprised. She also sang Persian poems quite well. Nāser-Homāyun has taught her very well in just a couple of days. (M.-D. Shah 1901, 100)[1]

Ali Zahir-od-Dowleh (1864–1924), the celebrated patron of music who was among the Shah's companions in that trip, was present at the performance in Contrexéville, and he specified that the lady performed in the mode "Āvāz Māhur" (Zahir-od-Dowleh 1992, 200). On the day of the Shah's arrival in Paris, July 28, 1900 (M.-D. Shah 1901, 129), the French journal, *L'Illustration*, published the sheet music of that performance as *Avâz-è Mâhoûr* (Lemaire 1900b). They added that the piece was "sung with great success in Contrexéville in front of His Majesty, by Miss Jeanne Salomon who had the honor to be accompanied on the piano by His Excellency Nāser-Homāyun, the chamberlain of His Majesty" ("Notre Supplément Musical" 1900, 60; Lemaire 1900d). Overall, it seems that Nāser-Homāyun had arranged to publish the transcription of a vocal-instrumental performance that was published by Jacques Parès as *Avâz Mâhoûr* (Lemaire 1900b). Another piece was published around the same time, which stated on the first page that it had been performed in front of the Shah by Miss Renée Marcelle (Lemaire 1900c).

The last Persian music performance in Contrexéville was arranged for July 12, 1900, the last day of the Shah's stay in the eastern French spa. As for the previous performances, the Shah wrote about it in his diary and he finally mentioned the names of the singers:

> After lunch, *Mademoiselle* [Renée] Marcelle and *Mademoiselle* [Jeanne] Solomon performed. *Monsieur* Lemaire and Nāser-Homāyun played the instrument and the two females sang *āvāz-e Irani*, which Nāser-Homāyun had taught them. They sang very well. (M.-D. Shah 1901, 102)[2]

[1] «آن شخصه‌ای که گاهی از او ذکری نموده و حدس زدیم که آواز دارد، تا این‌که آمد و خواند، ولی آواز فرنگی می‌خواند. این دو روزه ارسلان خان ناصر همایون و مسیو لمر از روی نوت آواز ایرانی و شعر فارسی به او آموخته بودند. امروز عرض کردند حاضر است که آواز ایرانی بخواند. به اطاق جلو تیاتر رفتیم. در آن‌جا ایرانی‌های خدّام ما و چند نفر از فرنگی‌ها بودند. ناصر همایون پیانو زد و دختر مغنیه شروع کرد به خواندن. آواز ایرانی را به قدری خوب خواند که ما تعجب کردیم. شعر فارسی را هم در کمال خوبی می‌خواند. ناصر همایون در ظرف دو سه روز خوب به او آموخته است.»

[2] «بعد از نهار مادموازل مارسیز و مادموازل سیلیان که هر دو مغنیه اند، به حضور آمدند. مسیو لمر و ناصر همایون ساز زدند و آن دو نفر آواز ایرانی که ناصر همایون به آنها یاد داده بود، خواندند. خیلی خوب خواندند.»

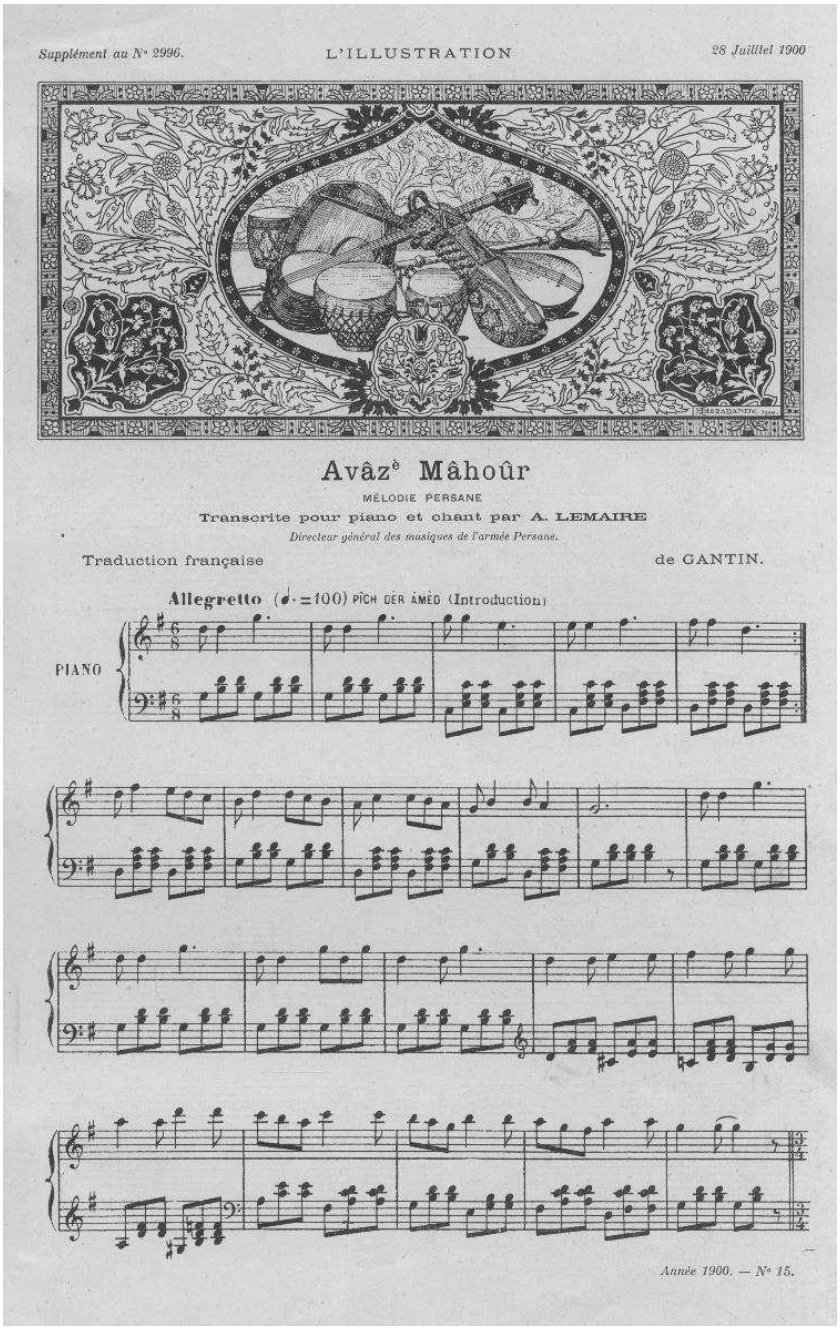
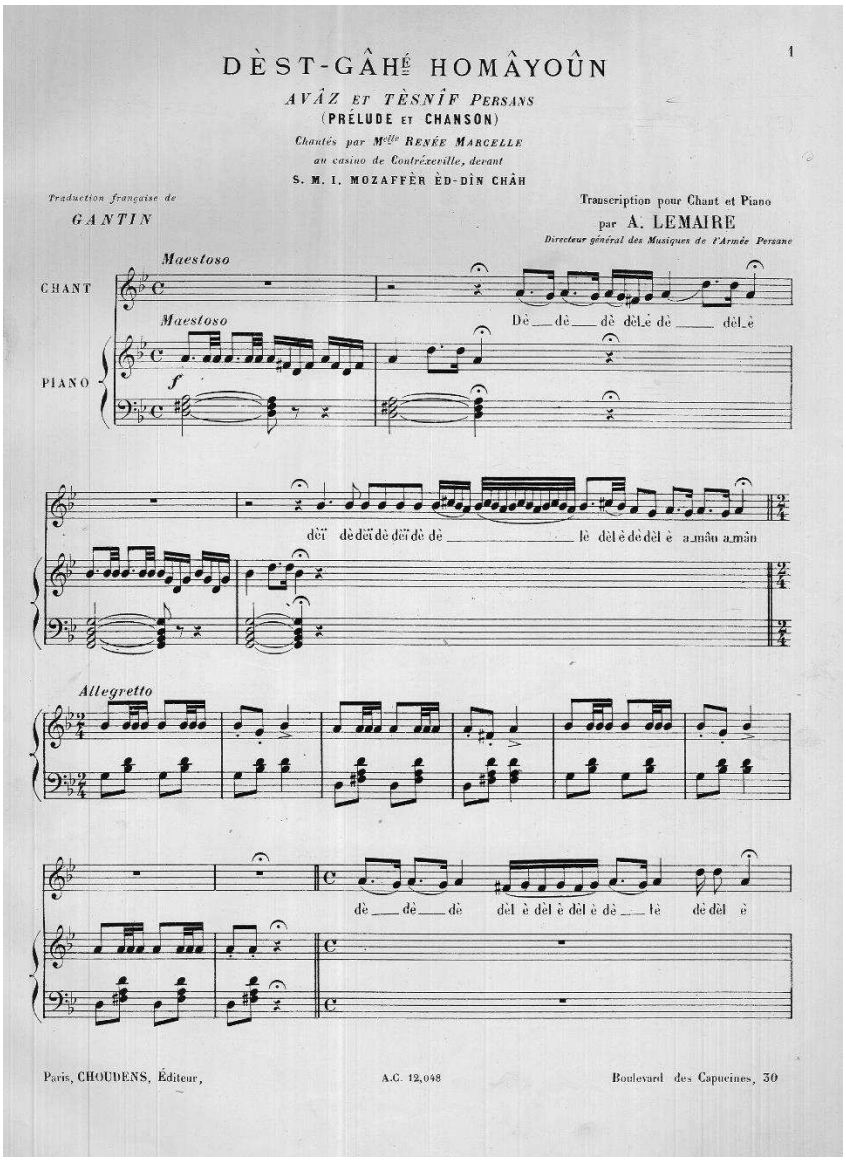



Figure 3: *Avâz-è Mâhoûr* as published by *L'Illustration* on July 28, 1900, copy preserved at Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw

(Lemaire 1900d).

DÈST-GÂHÉ HOMÂYOÛN
1
AVÂZ ET TÈSNÎF PERSANS
(PRÉLUDE ET CHANSON)
Chantés par Mlle RENÉE MARCELLE
au casino de Contrexeville, devant
S. M. I. MOZAFFÈR ÈD-DÎN CHÂH
Traduction française de
GANTIN
Transcription pour Chant et Piano
par A. LEMAIRE
Directeur général des Musiques de l'Armée Persane
Maestoso
CHANT
PIANO
Dè dè dè dèl è dè dèl è
f
dèï dè dèï dè dèï dè dè lè dèl è dè dèl è a mân a mân
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Paris, CHOUDENS, Éditeur,
A.C. 12,048
Boulevard des Capucines, 30

Figure 4: *Dèst-gâh-é Homâyoûn* published by Choudens (Paris, 1900), copy preserved at the National Library of Israel

(Lemaire 1900c).

Both *Dèst-gâh-é Homâyoûn*, which is subtitled with *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans*, and *Avâz Mâhoûr* had a footnote explaining that the pieces were from the collection *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans*. *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans* was the title of a book that Alfred Lemaire published in Paris, for which he prepared a short note signed in Tehran on June 10, 1900 (Lemaire 1900a). As mentioned on the cover page (Figure 5), the book was "en dépôt à Paris chez H. Jacques Parés & Cie."

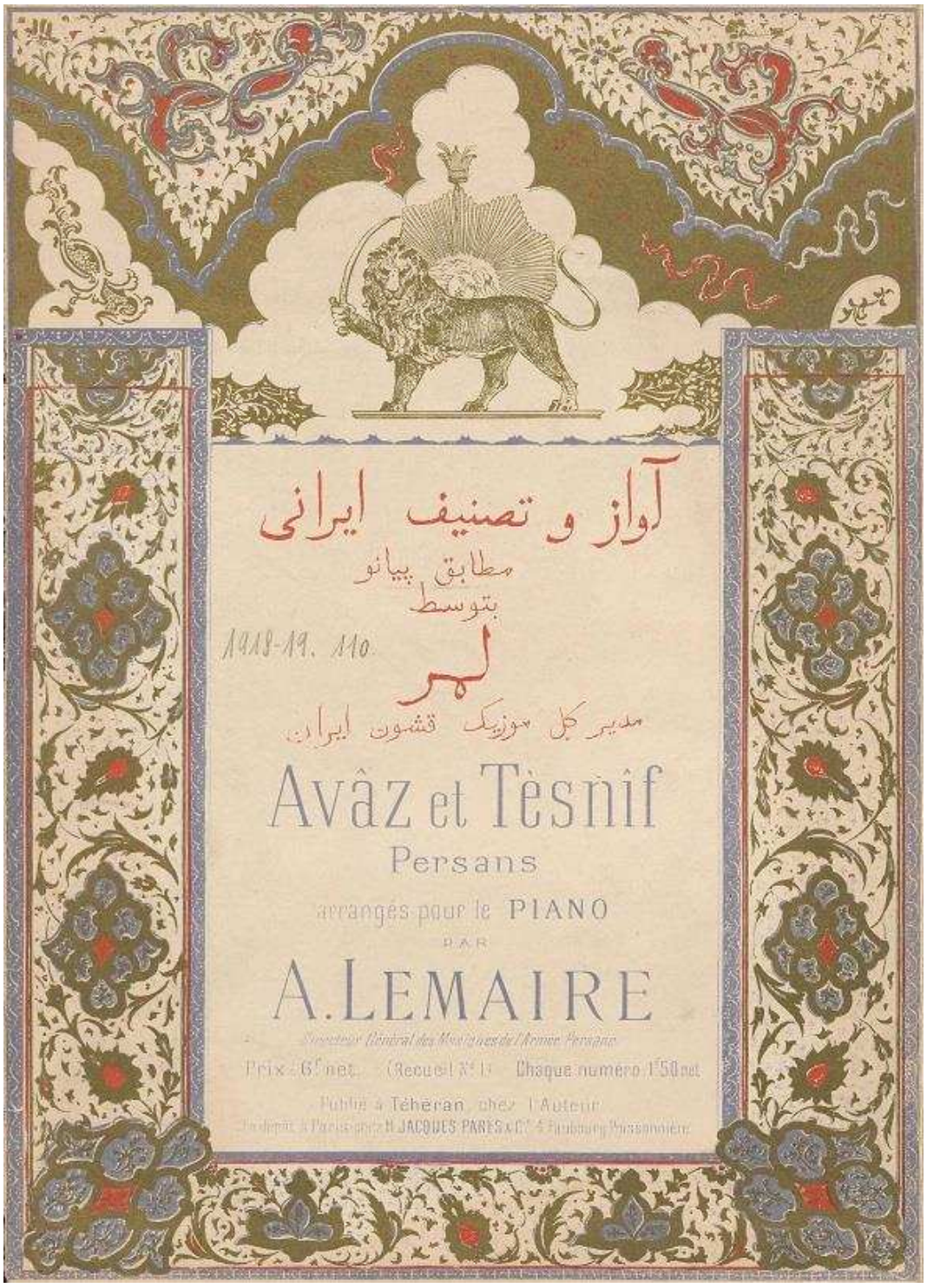


Figure 5: *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans*, copy preserved at Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen (Lemaire 1900a).

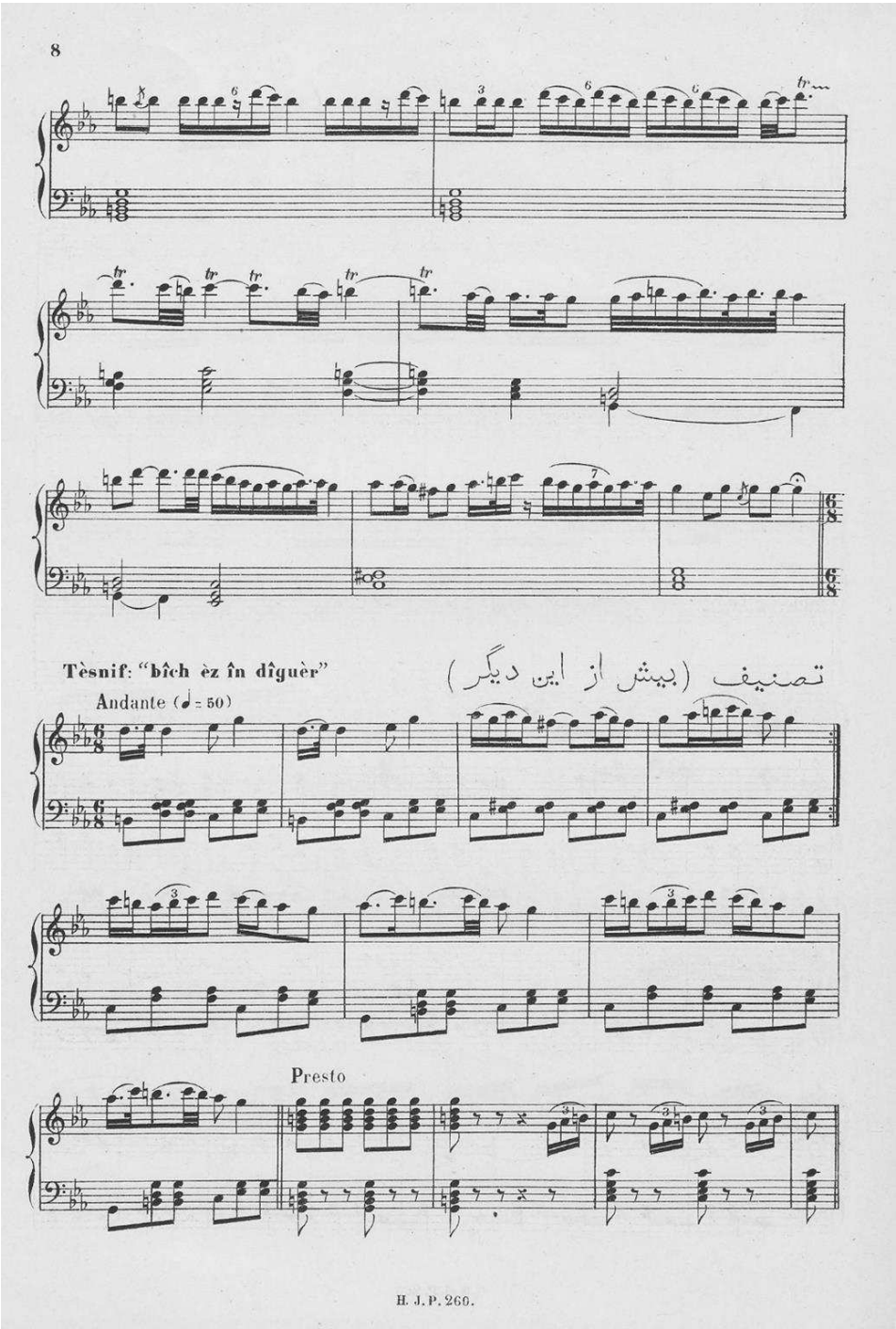
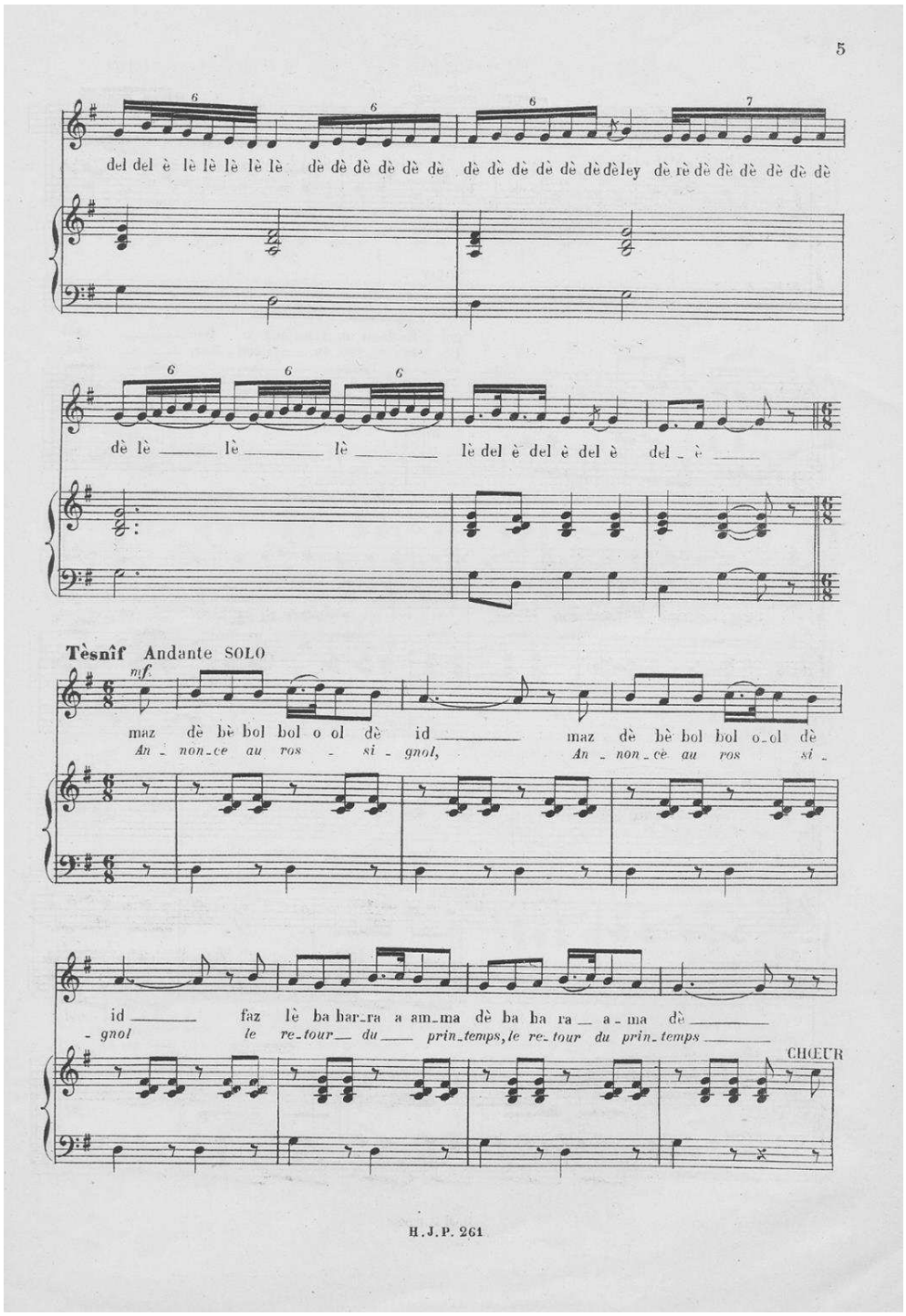



Figure 6: A passage from *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans* featuring improvisations and rhythmic song (Lemaire 1900a, 8).

The publications in 1900 were an essentially different approach towards Persian music: In contrast with previous transcriptions of Persian music, which mainly featured Persian songs, Lemaire's publications in 1900 presented transcriptions of a more complex form of performance of Persian music. *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans* contained three dastgāh which, as Lemaire himself stated, were relatively easy to perform on the piano (Lemaire 1900a, Note de l'Auteur). The three dastgāh (multimodal suites) were Chahārgāh, Homāyun, and Māhur, were comprised of by various modes or āvāz related to each dastgāh; a rhythmic introductory instrumental piece known as Pish-Darāmad[1] was also reproduced with a few rhythmic songs (tasnif). The new transcriptions imitated – inasmuch possible within the restriction of the western notational the free – meter improvisations, which were customary in various modes, and bar lines indicated a suggested rhythm along the entire score. To imitate the improvisations, the left hand was usually less elaborated and simply accompanied the highly ornate melody. The left hand had more elaborate chord progressions during the songs (tasnif) and the rhythmic instrumental piece (Pish-Darāmad). *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans* were entirely instrumental transcriptions of Persian vocal and instrumental performances, thus offering something akin to the piano reductions widely used to perform western instrumental and vocal-instrumental music at the time.

The other transcriptions in the Paris collection, *Dèst-gâh-é Homâyoûn* and *Avâz Mâhoûr*, were similar to *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans* because they all presented representations in western notation of improvised Persian performances along with a few pre-composed pieces. However, in *Dèst-gâh-é Homâyoûn* and *Avâz Mâhoûr*, the imitation of the vocal improvisations and the songs rendered the original Persian lyrics accompanied by French translations. Being the earliest notation of these vocal improvisations, these representations – clumsy as they may seem today – are quite precious as historical documents. However, it seems that the complex vocal ornamentations typical of Persian performance practice were reduced to simple passages in the French transcriptions so that they could be imitated by French singers, unless it is assumed that the singers were provided with much more additional training than appeared in the sheet music. In fact, it would be impossible to reproduce the full complexities of the original ornamentation using any transcription method based on Western notation. While the ornamental words and syllables such as *del*, *amān*, and *yār* were used by Persian singers naturally, in a way that could sometimes reflect a personal

[1] Pish=Pre, Darāmad=Entry, Pish-Darāmad is a rhythmic instrumental piece that is played at the beginning of a performance.

style, the transcriptions suggest an unnaturally fixed use of these words repeated in sequence. The transcriptions therefore cut out much of the characteristic ornamental melismas and perforce fixed the improvisation into a pre-composed piece. Perhaps simplifying the transcriptions was the only way a European singer – at least without additional coaching – could reproduce the material because it had to appear familiar enough to be understood. However, as old recordings of European music show, there was a lot more freedom involved in the performances of Western music at that time. Persian pieces could have been used for elaborate performances. Since the Shah liked the performances, one could assume that the singers were coached rather well in adopting the genuine Persian performance style, something that would not be visible in the notations that were printed. Alternatively, it might be that the Shah was simply stunned by hearing a moderately competent performance of Persian music by European singers. It is impossible to trace the quality of those performances further because no recording of the actual performance has been found.

5
del del è lè lè lè lè lè dè dè d

Assuming that Alfred Lemaire was not primarily interested in Persian music, it is difficult to know how he could succeed in reproducing imitations of the vocal and instrumental improvisations with their complex ornamentations. How could he transcribe complex Persian singing if he could not translate the lyrics into French? Alfred Lemaire stated that by 1900, many Iranian musicians, who were able to use European notation, could also play Persian music on the piano:

> At the end we want to add that, by now, most of our students at the Conservatoire de Téhéran have learned to transcribe Persian melodies faithfully, especially General Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun, Chamberlain of His Majesty.[1] (Lemaire 1900a, Note de l'Auteur)

As the Shah's Chamberlain, Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun was sent to Paris to accomplish His Majesty's commands regarding *note-hā* of *musique* (M.-D. Shah 1901, 90), and he had been appointed as the director of the Royal Music, *Musique-e Saltanati*, i.e., the military bands of the court (Khaleqi 1955, 227). Reviewing the Shah's words highlights Nāser-Homāyun's role in producing performance materials in Western notation and training French musicians to perform them:

> Nāser-Homāyun and *Monsieur* Lemaire […] have accomplished well our commands regarding the *note-hā* of *musique*. […] *note-hā* of *āvāz-e Irani*, which Nāser-Homāyun had prepared and given to the *orchestra-hā*, were being played. […] In truth, Arsalān Khan Nāser-Homāyun has trained them well. […] Arsalān Khan [Nāser-Homāyun] and *Monsieur* Lemaire have taught her *āvāz-e Irani* and Persian poems using *note*. […] Nāser-Homāyun played the piano and the young female singer started singing. […] Nāser-Homāyun has taught her very well in just a couple of days. […] *Monsieur* Lemaire and Nāser-Homāyun played the

[1] "Nous tenons à constater en terminant que la plupart de nos élèves du Conservatoire de Tèhèrân sont arrivés à transcrire fidèlement les mélodies persanes, notamment le général Arsalân khân *Nâsèr homâyoûn*, chambellan de Sa Majesté."

instrument and the two females sang *āvāz-e Irani*, which Nāser-Homāyun had taught them. (M.-D. Shah 1901, 90, 92, 100, 102).[1]

On a second reading, the Shah's words indicate that it was Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun who prepared the draft of the transcription of the āvāz and dastgāh improvisations. At least, he must have performed the improvisations on the piano so that Lemaire could transcribe them. Alfred Lemaire then improved harmonization and created a suitable arrangement for the piano. Although Nāser-Homāyun was behind the publication or at least made a substantial contribution compared to Jules Gantin who translated a few Persian verses into French, Alfred Lemaire did not acknowledge Nāser-Homāyun's contribution on the first page, even though he did acknowledge Jules Gantin. Apparently, Lemaire did not want to share any credit with his former student who not only became His Majesty's Chamberlain, but also took away Lemaire's pride of directing the Royal bands of *Sa Majesté Impériale* (Khaleqi 1955, 227). In 1900, Alfred Lemaire was no longer *Directeur des Musiques Militaires de S. M. I. le Schah de Perse*, a title he had proudly used in his previous publications (Lemaire 1873b, 442, 1873c, 31, 1873d, 80/1, 1881a, 1881c), and he signed all of his latest publications as *Directeur Général des Musiques de l'Armée Persane* (Lemaire 1900a, 1900b, 1900c, 1900d, Lemaire and Nasser Homayoun n.d., 1902). A search for printed volumes that might have Nāser-Homāyun's name registered produced one copy at the National Library of Israel in Tel Aviv. The title is *Avâz-e Râg d'après Nasser Homayoun* (Lemaire and Nasser Homayoun n.d.). A second volume, *Avâz-e Mâhour d'après Nasser Homayoun*, is preserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Lemaire and Nasser Homayoun 1902), which seems to be a second edition of *Avâz-e Mâhour* (Lemaire 1900b).

[1] «ناصر همایون و مسیو لمر [...] فرمایشات ما را از بابت نوت های موزیک به خوبی انجام داده‌اند. [...] نوت های آواز ایرانی را که ناصر همایون درست کرده و به ارکست ها داده بود، مشغول زدن هستند. [...] الحق ارسلان خان ناصر همایون هم خیلی خوب از عهدهٔ تعلیم آن‌ها برآمده است. [...] ارسلان خان ناصر همایون و مسیو لمر از روی نوت آواز ایرانی و شعر فارسی به او آموخته بودند. [...] ناصر همایون پیانو زد و دختر مغنیه شروع کرد به خواندن. [...] ناصر همایون در ظرف دو سه روز خوب به او آموخته است. [...] مسیو لمر و ناصر همایون ساز زدند و آن دو نفر آواز ایرانی که ناصر همایون به آنها یاد داده بود، خواندند.»

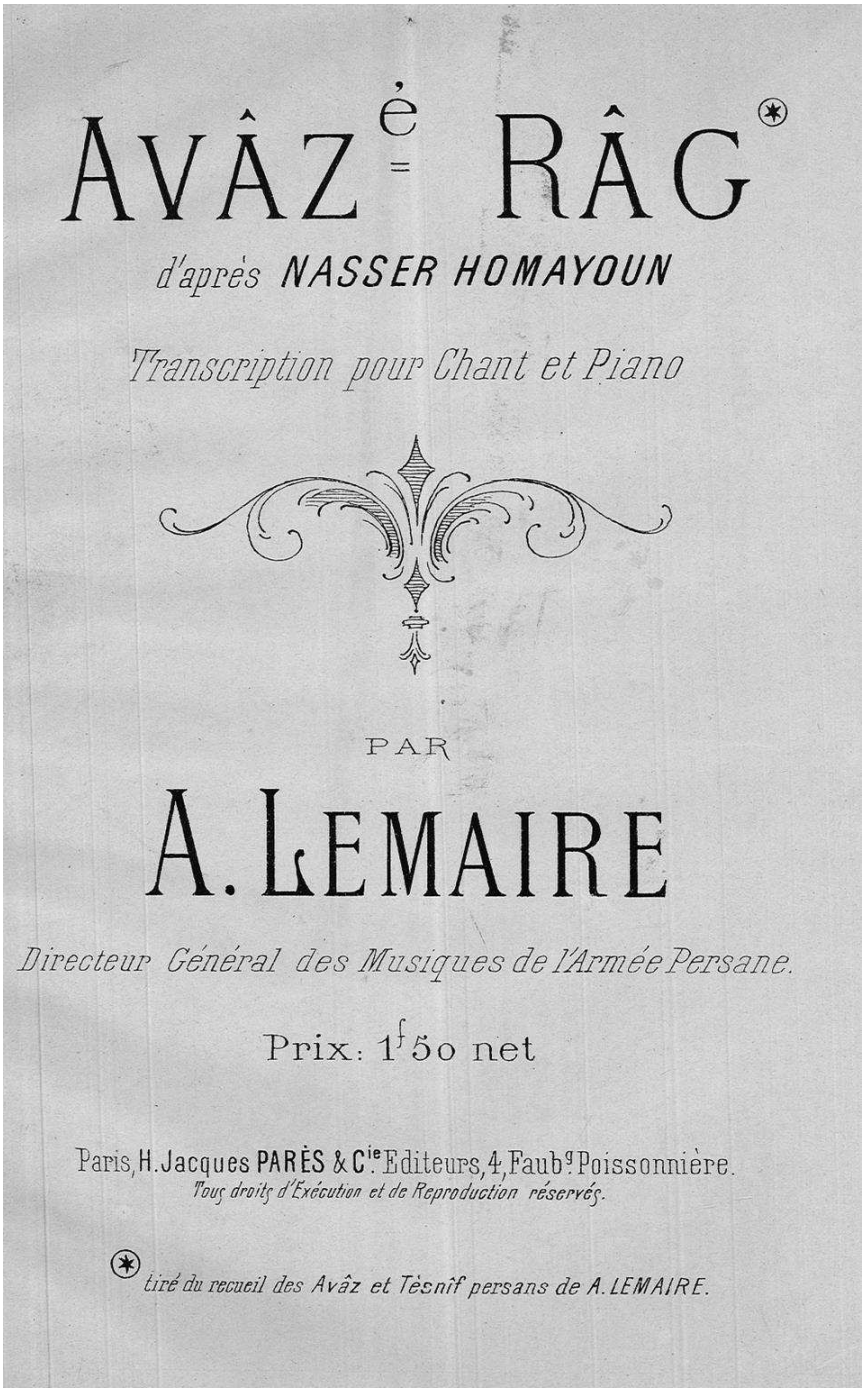

AVÂZ-È RÂG
d'après NASSER HOMAYOUN
Transcription pour Chant et Piano
PAR
A. LEMAIRE
Directeur Général des Musiques de l'Armée Persane.
Prix: 1f 50 net
Paris, H. Jacques PARÈS & Cie Editeurs, 4, Faubg Poissonnière.
Tous droits d'Exécution et de Reproduction réservés.
tiré du recueil des Avâz et Tèsnîf persans de A. LEMAIRE.

Figure 8: Cover of *Avâz-è Râg* by Alfred Lemaire, according to (d'après) Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun, copy preserved at the National Library of Israel

(Lemaire and Nasser Homayoun n.d.).

Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun was evidently the first Persian who gave concerts in Europe playing Persian music. The Shah mentioned in his travel diary in 1900 that Nāser-Homāyun played Persian music on the piano in Contrexéville and Belgium (M.-D. Shah 1901, 95, 100, 102, 157). His performance in Contrexéville was also reported by *L'Illustration* ("Notre Supplément Musical" 1900, 60). As His Majesty's Chamberlain, Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun accompanied the Shah during his second visit to Europe in 1902. On Sunday, July 6, 1902, Nāser-Homāyun performed on the piano for Princess Isabelle de Croÿ (1856–1931) at the Shah's hotel in Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad) (M.-D. Shah 1903, 84). He also performed for Prince Arthur of England (1850–1942) at the Shah's residence in London, and on August 24, 1902; the Shah stated: "The Prince enjoyed Persian *tasnifāt* [songs] and āvāz [improvisations]" (M.-D. Shah 1903, 122).

Mozaffar-od-Din Shah truly loved music. For his second visit to Europe, he not only brought along Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun, but was also accompanied by Morād, a *tār* player, whom he enjoyed having around. Morād performed Persian music on the *tār* during his stay in Europe, and the Shah mentioned his performance for Princess Isabelle de Croÿ at the Shah's hotel in Karlovy Vary (Carlsbad) (M.-D. Shah 1903, 84). Morād was likely the first professional *tār* player to perform Persian music in Europe; however, according to Persian critics, he was not considered to be a highly skilled performer (Khaleqi 1955, 136).

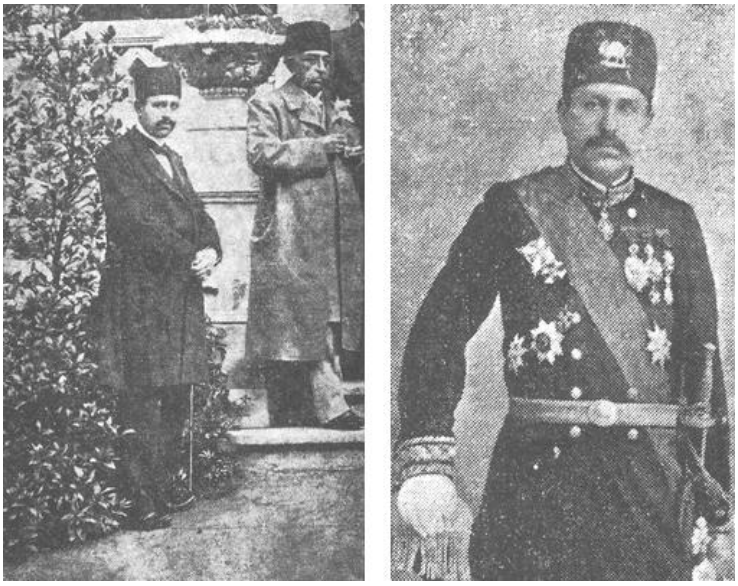


Figure 9: Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun and Mozaffar-od-Din Shah in Europe (left); General Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun in uniform with decorations (right)

(Khaleqi 1955, 228–29).

The Dastgāh System as Described by Alfred Lemaire

Alfred Lemaire (1842–1907) moved to Persia in 1868. He published his first arrangements of Persian music on the Shah of Persia's first visit to Europe in 1873, which he followed by more publications in 1881. However, these earlier publications were piano representations of Persian songs. They were essentially different from the publications in 1900 which included imitations of instrumental and vocal improvisations. This difference raises the following questions: Why did he resume publishing Persian music in 1900? Why did he switch from publishing songs to publishing imitations of vocal and instrumental performances? Why did he take thirty-two years to switch from songs to āvāz and dastgāh? Did he produce those transcriptions by listening to eminent masters in Tehran? Did he have an assistant?

The book cover of *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans* indicates that it was published in Tehran and the author's note was also signed in Tehran. However, that could be an attempt to give the publication a more authentic flair because the French publisher (H.J.P.) is indicated on the book cover and on each page. *Dèst-gâh-é Homâyoûn* and *Avâz Mâhoûr* were published in Paris during the new Shah's visit to Europe. Thus, while the Shah's visit provides a reason for releasing fresh notations of Persian music, the reason for publishing āvāz and dastgāh requires further investigation.

In his introductory note to *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans*, Alfred Lemaire stated:

> It is by the command of His Imperial Majesty Mozaffar-od-Din Shah that, for the first time, we wrote an accompaniment for some *āvāz* and had performed a suite of *āvāz* without repeating them, but intercalated with *tasnif*.[1] (Lemaire 1900a, Note de l'Auteur)

The Shah mentioned his "command" in his travel diary on Tuesday, June 26, 1900, while he was enjoying the resort at Contrexéville:

[1] "C'est sur l'ordre de S. M. I. Mozaffèr èd-Dîn Châh que pour la première fois nous avons écrit un accompagnement sous des *âvâz* et fait exécuter une suite d'*âvâz* sans les répéter, mais en les intercalant de *tèsnîf*."

> Nāser-Homāyun and *Monsieur* Lemaire, whom we had sent to Paris, came back today. They have accomplished well our commands regarding the *note-hā* of *musique* (M.-D. Shah 1901, 90).[1]

This suggests that it was the Shah who wanted to have more elaborate versions of Persian music published in European notation, perhaps to please or make the music understandable for a European or French public. Lemaire also flattered His Majesty and claimed that interposing tasnif (songs) to break the monotony of long performances of āvāz showed His Majesty's enlightened, or perhaps Europeanized, taste in music (Lemaire 1900a, Note de l'Auteur). The Shah's words also reflected his satisfaction that Europeans admired *note-e Irani* (M.-D. Shah 1901, 92). Mozaffar-od-Din Shah was greatly interested in music, particularly piano music. The celebrated songwriter, Ab-ol-Qāsem Āref Qazvini (1882–1934) reminisced about his first encounter with the Shah at court when he was recorded onto a phonograph accompanied by the Shah on the piano and two of the Shah's companions on the *tār* and *ney-anbān* (Āref 1924a, 94). Edouard Valmont, a French diplomat in Tehran in 1906 and 1907, also wrote that Mozaffar-od-Din Shah was very fond of music (Valmont 1907, 183). According to John G. Wishard, the director of the American Presbyterian Hospital in Tehran, the Shah added a music and billiard room to the palace, where he spent many of his evenings (Wishard 1908, 97). Thus, publishing Persian music may not mean that Lemaire was personally interested in that genre of music but that he represented the interests of the Shah, perhaps boosted by a Europeanized taste. Lemaire never published a separate volume on the āvāz and dastgāh before or after the publications in 1900.

According to the information that Lemaire provided for his Artesian compatriot who promoted him as an Artesian hero (Advielle 1881, 1885), Lemaire was born in 1842 in Aire-sur-la-Lys, France, and entered the Conservatoire de musique de Paris in November 1855. He obtained "le 2^{e} prix de solfège (classe de M. Batiste) et de flûte (classe de M. Tulon), et, en 1858, le 1er prix de flûte (même classe), puis, en 1861 le 2^{e} prix d'harmonie (classe de M. Elwart)" (Advielle 1881, 160). Lemaire was admitted to M. Leborne's class of counterpoint and fugue in 1862, and by 1868, when he was sent to Persia, he was serving as *sous-chef de musique* in the first regiment of the "voltigeurs de la garde" (Advielle 1881, 160). The Artesian patriot who promoted Lemaire as an

[1] «ناصر همایون و مسیو لمر را که به پاریس فرستاده بودیم، امروز آمده و فرمایشات ما را از بابت نوت های موزیک به خوبی انجام داده‌اند.»

Artesian hero was unable to add more honors to Lemaire's career in France; however, he stated that in Persia, Lemaire became a general of the Persian army, head of the Royal Military Music, and head of the Department of Music at the *Dār-ol-Fonun*,[1] which he called the Conservatoire de Téhéran (Lemaire 1900a, Note de l'Auteur). Although Lemaire might have been considered a great master of music in Persia, neither his biography nor his publications present him in European terms as a virtuoso musician or a gifted composer. As a European who lived in Persia for decades, he must have enjoyed an easy life, particularly because of a lack of any serious rivals. To make his life even easier, he often used talented students to help him to train the beginners (Advielle 1885, 8). Thus, it may not be surprising to read that Lemaire had enough time to get involved in business. In 1890, he was granted a monopoly to build a road from Tehran to the northwestern borders, which included giving him a monopoly on shipping across the biggest lake in Persia and building guesthouses and shops, etc. However, he shared this major contract with Kāmrān-Mirzā Nāyeb-os-Saltaneh, the Shah's powerful son (Nategh 1992, 43–46).

Some signs show that Lemaire had little passion to learn more about Persian culture. For instance, European teachers who were hired by the Persian court to teach at *Dar-ol-Fonun* needed interpreters to assist them in teaching. The Austrian physician, Jakob Eduard Polak (1818-1891), was among the first group of teachers, but he did not stay longer than ten years. He also needed an interpreter in the beginning, but he soon not only taught in Persian but also wrote a Persian book on medicine (Werner 2012). He produced an informative ethnography of Persians after returning to Europe, in which he provided valuable information on the arts, including music and dance (Polak 1865, 1:292–93).

The first European book on music theory was translated from French into Persian in 1884 (Kuhn 1835, 1884). Although by 1884 Alfred Lemaire had been living in Persia for fourteen years, it was Lemaire's Persian interpreter, Ali-Akbar Mozayyen-od-Dowleh who prepared the translation. Even after thirty-two years of living in Persia, Alfred Lemaire was apparently unable or unwilling to make any translations, even from Persian to French. In 1900, when *Dèst-gâh-é Homâyoûn* and *Avâz Mâhoûr* were published, the few lines of Persian poems were translated into

[1] =*The House of Technics*, the first Persian school for the European science and technology.

French by Jules Gantin (1853–1908), a former professor of Persian language at the École des Langues Orientales in Paris (Lemaire 1900d, 113, 1900c, 1).

Regardless of the motivations and contributions behind the publications of Persian music, their explanatory notes included an early description of a modal system for Persian music in the twentieth century (Lemaire 1900a, Note de l'Auteur; "Notre Supplément Musical" 1900). The introductory note to Lemaire's *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans* provided not only the first published account of the dastgāh system but also the first account of the dastgāh system in a European language. The text starts with "Les *âvâz* persans" and features āvāz as the units of Persian music; however, it specifies that various āvāz would be performed in "les dèst-gâh (cycles) de *mâhoûr*, *tchèhâr-gâh*, *homâyoûn*, *choûr*, *nèvâ* et *sègâ*." The text adds that each dastgāh has a "gamme différente" and "gamme persane" has extra notes compared to the European scale; hence, "certains *âvâz* et *tèsnîf* des cycles de *mâhoûr*, *homâyoûn* et de *tchèhâr-gâh*" were chosen for publication because their scales contained notes that existed in the "gamme européenne" (Lemaire 1900a, Note de l'Auteur). Although the text included the names of six dastgāh, it failed to mention how many dastgāh were included in the dastgāh system, and one of the seven dastgāh that exists in modern Persian music was not mentioned. The seventh dastgāh, Rāst-Panjgāh, which is, albeit, a less common dastgāh, was likely left out because it has the same scale to Māhur.

The text is mainly about the Persian āvāz, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8 of this dissertation. Nevertheless, Alfred Lemaire indicated that the system of Persian music was based on the dastgāh, and the various āvāz would be performed in a system of six dastgāh. He added that each dastgāh had a different scale, which revealed that having a particular scale was his definition of a dastgāh. Based on a translation of the Arabic term *dawr* (cycle, octave), which had become a common term in musical texts in the Middle East since it first appeared in *Ketāb-ol-Advār* (*The Book on Cycles*) in the thirteenth century (Ormavi n.d.), Lemaire also considered that a dastgāh was equal to a cycle. By distinguishing six dastgāh according to their different scales, he simply introduced the six dastgāh as the Persian modes. The seventh dastgāh, Rāst-Panjgāh, was most likely not included because it did not have a different scale. Further, Lemaire indicated that the three dastgāh he selected were published because they would be compatible with the "gamme européenne," and he therefore defined dastgāh as the Persian equivalent of the European modes. The two dastgāh of Māhur and Homāyun were considered equivalents of the major and

minor modes of European music since the first modern Persian text on music was published (Vaziri 1923, 100, 105). Lemaire's way of describing the Persian music system thus became the starting point for considering a certain number of dastgāh as the Persian modes.

Chapter 2: The Early Presence of the Dastgāh System in European Musical Literature

Europeans continued to travel to Persia and produce travel accounts during the first quarter of the twentieth century, but it was only at the beginning of the twentieth century that a French diplomat reported a remarkable description of the arts and music in Persia, which contained information on the music system. Léon-Eugène-Aubin Coullard Descos (1863–1931), *Officier de la Légion d'honneur*, lived in Persia as *Envoyé spécial et Ministre plénipotentiaire* in 1905 and 1906 ("Annuaire Diplomatique et Statistique" 1907, 1015, "Annuaire Diplomatique et Statistique" 1908, 1009). Léon Descos produced many books under the pen name of Eugène Aubin (IdRef 2016) including his diary of living and traveling in Persia, *La Perse d'aujourd'hui* (Aubin 1908). Aubin dedicated the tenth chapter of his diary to Persian culture, which contained detailed information on Persian music and entertainment, and it was dated 'February 1907' (Aubin 1908, 228).

Although Aubin started by discussing the history of music in Persia, the topic changed to the actual stature of music and entertainment in Persia in his time. He mentioned names of several contemporary musicians and entertainers of which a few are known in the oral tradition. According to Aubin, the best-known among all musicians was Hoseyn-Qoli (Mirza Husséin Kouli Khan), whose uncle and father both belonged to the court of Nāser-od-Din Shah (Aubin 1908, 230). Hoseyn-Qoli's father was the celebrated Ali-Akbar, whose name had appeared in Joseph-Arthur Gobineau's travel account (Gobineau 1859, 464–65). Among the female dancers, he mentioned Khānom-Orgi (*la dame à l'orgue*) (Aubin 1908, 232), whose name also survives in the oral tradition (Khaleqi 1955, 472). Aubin briefly explained the system of Persian music in a footnote, stating that, having previously been based on a set of twelve dastgāh, by 1907, it consisted of only eight dastgāh: *Shur*, *Māhur*, *Homāyun*, *Dogāh*, *Segāh*, *Chahārgāh*, *Panjgāh*, and *Navā* (Aubin 1908, 229). He provided a general description of the atmosphere of each dastgāh:

> When performed without words, the airs of Persian music belong to *Reng*.[1] — With words, they are *tasnif*,[2] in which the rhythm needs to be marked by the lap-percussion. — The *avaz* require no [percussion] accompaniment, they constitute the serious [branch of] music, the other light music.
>
> Formerly, the totality of the Persan airs were based on twelve distinct themes — *Destigah* (one would say "noubas" in North Africa).[3] — Today, the number of these themes is reduced to eight: *Lour* [Shur], sad and languid; *mahour*, more cheerful; *houmayoun*, slow and solemn; *dougah* (2nd) melancholic; *sehgah* (3rd) and *tchargah* (4th), both with military appearance (the latter is particular to the people from the Caucasus); *pendjgah* (5th), mixes all the other tunes, and finally the *névah*, solemn, is proper to indicate the appearance of the great people in this world.[4]

Ten years later, the Danish orientalist Arthur Emanuel Christensen (1875–1945) copied Aubin's description of the Persian music system; however, he failed to acknowledge the source (Christensen 1918a, 83). He also quoted Alfred Lemaire's words and added further information quoted from his local guide, a certain Seyyed Feyzollāh Adib, who was also known as Seyyed Mo'allem (Christensen 1918a, 69). For instance, according to Seyyed Mo'allem, it would take five years for a musician to learn the entire repertoire of Persian music in 1914 (Christensen 1918a, 84). Arthur Christensen believed that "Orientals" were very conservative, keeping their old music unchanged through oral tradition and enjoying it for centuries. He believed that they did not share contemporary Europeans' desire for making new music and melodies. Accordingly, when it came

[1] Instrumental piece in compound meters.

[2] Rhythmic vocal piece.

[3] A term in Arabic music referring to a suite of songs and instrumental pieces ("Nawba" 2016).

[4] "Joués sans paroles, les airs de la musique persane appartiennent au *reng*. — Avec paroles, ils relèvent du *tasnif*, dont le rythme veut être marqué par le tambour à pied. — L'*avaz* n'exige aucun accompagnement; ils constitue la musique sérieuse, les autres la musique légère.

Jadis, l'ensemble des airs persans se ramenait à douze thèmes déterminés. — *Destigah* (on dirait noubas dans l'Afrique du Nord). — Aujourd'hui, le nombre de ces thèmes s'est réduit à huit : le *Lour*, triste et langoureux; le *mahour*, plus gai; l'houmayoun, lent et solennel; le *dougah* (2e), mélancolique; le *sehgah* (3e) et le *tchargah* (4e); d'une allure également martiale (ce dernier spécial au gens du Caucase) ; le *pendjgah* (5e), mélange de tous les autres airs; enfin le *névah*, solonnel, propre à marquer l'apparition des grands de ce monde."

to a potential Westernization of Persian music, Christensen rejected the whole idea: "Oriental Music will be, where it is served with a European sauce, neither fish nor fowl. The monotony and simplicity is precisely the charm of this music" (Christensen 1918a, 84).[1]

In 1914, an Austrian music journal, *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, published a brief report on a performance of Persian, Armenian, Georgian, and Kurdish "Volksmusik" (Koczirz 1914, 253–54). It was performed on March 7, 1914, by "Nikolaus von Tigranoff" from the city of Gyumri in Armenia. The author was an Armenian composer better known as Nikoghayos Fadeyi Tigranian (1856–1951), who was educated at the Vienna Institute for the Blind, where he studied the piano and compositional theory (Sarkisyan 2015). Tigranian presented information on musical instruments as well as common modes and the "diastgjahs" (dastgāh), and his explanation depicted dastgāh as a performance suite, which included various modes (mugham, maqam) and incorporated musical forms (Koczirz 1914, 254). However, he spoke about the musical culture of maqam-dastgāh system in the Southern Caucasus, i.e., the region covered by today's nation states of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

During the first quarter of the twentieth century, orientomusicology was being developed as an established discipline. The French orientalist, Clément Huart (1854–1926), contributed some history of Persian music to the volumes of the great French encyclopedia, *Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire* by Alexandre Jean Albert Lavignac (1846–1916) and Lionel de La Laurencie (1861–1933) (Lavignac and Laurencie 1922). Clément Huart compiled a concise history of music in Persia followed by describing Persian music in the modern era. Although Huart reproduced pages of Alfred Lemaire's notations, particularly sections of *Dèst-gâh-é Homâyoûn* and *Avâz Mâhoûr* (Huart 1922, 3077, 3082–83), *Dèstegâh* was mentioned vaguely as a modal term equal to sho'beh, a unit from the music system from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries (Huart 1922, 3069). Clément Huart also borrowed Alfred Lemaire's information reproduced by Victor Advielle to describe modern instruments (Huart 1922, 3073–77). In addition, he quoted Joseph-Arthur Gobineau's passages on music and musicians in Persia

[1] "Orientalsk Musik bliver, naar den serveres med europæisk Sauce, hverken Fugl eller Fisk. Monotonien og Enkelheden udgør netop Charmen ved denne Musik."

(Huart 1922, 3067); however, the more recent account by Aubin, which gave information on a set of eight dastgāh remained neglected.

Abbas Mehrin (1880–1976), or A. M. A. Shushtery, was the first Iranian to publish an account of Persian music in a European language. A short autobiography and a published interview reveal some information about Mehrin's life and career (Mehrin 1966; Jamshidi 2013). He was born in 1880 to a Persian family who had just emigrated to India from Shushtar in South Persia (Jamshidi 2013, 330–31). In the interview, Mehrin stated that he had studied in Pune and Bangalore and started traveling in 1903. After living in Japan for two years, he moved to the United States in late 1904 and from there traveled to London in 1906, where he stayed for a year. He moved to Paris in late 1907 and visited Italy afterwards. He returned to Persia via Mumbai; however, because of the social and political circumstance of Persia in the early twentieth century, he decided to reside in Iraq. Events while in the United States had a significant effect on Mehrin's life. After starting his studies in microbiology there, his American professor encouraged him to study the history and literature of ancient Persia (Jamshidi 2013, 332). He also met Abraham Valentine Williams Jackson (1862-1937), an American scholar of the Indo-Iranian languages, and Maneckji Nusserwanji Dhalla (1875-1956), a Zoroastrian priest and religious scholar from the Parsee community in India (Mehrin 1966, 92). Although he did not study enough to acquire an academic degree—because his stay in the United States did not exceed two years and he did not stay more than a year in London or Paris. In 1918, after being engaged in trade for a decade, he received an invitation letter from the University of Mysore in Southern India to teach Iranian language and literature. He taught there for more than twenty years and became the Director of the Department of Persian, Arabic, Urdu, and Hindi. He retired on a pension in 1940 (Mehrin 1966, 92). Apart from some occasional long travels, he lived the rest of his life in Tehran where he died in 1976.

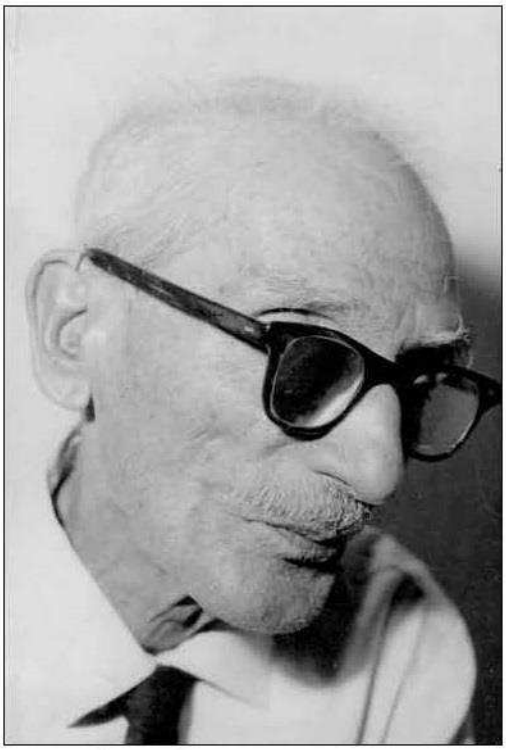


Figure 10: Abbas Mehrin in Tehran in 1965

(Jamshidi 2013, 332).

The first volume of Abbas Mehrin's *Outlines of Islamic Culture* was published in 1938. It was a valuable first-hand account by an insider written in elegant English, of which the first section of the eighth chapter was dedicated to music (Mehrin 1938, 1:209–24). Opening the section with a discussion of the permissibility of music in Islamic culture, he quoted the Prophet: "Ornament your recitation of the Quran with your good voice. For everything there is an ornament and the ornament of the Quran is melodious voice" (Mehrin 1938, 1:209). Mehrin mentioned the use of music in the Persian Empire and on the Arabian Peninsula prior to the rise of Islam in the seventh century, and he described Umayyad and Abbasid music. Mehrin divided the development of music in Islamic culture into three periods: the first was the period of passionate enjoyment; the second was the period of becoming the subject of mathematics and philosophy, and the third was returning to the period of enjoyment under European influence (Mehrin 1938, 1:211). Mehrin also mentioned traces of the influence of the music from Islamic countries on the music of Europe, India, and Central Asia. He provided a list of the earliest Muslim musicians followed by a list of

the strings and frets of the short-necked plucked string instrument, the oud. Using primary musical and historical sources, Mehrin prepared a section on Umayyad music, a section on Abbasid music, and a section on Muslim music in India. The latter, which was quite informative, was based on first-hand Indian sources that he quoted. A list of musical instruments in Islamic culture, Muslim systems of notation, the effects of music, Muslim string instruments, and Muslim piping instruments were among other topics that Mehrin included in his account.

Explaining the music of Iran, Mehrin started with the derivational system of twelve maqam, twenty-four sho'beh, and forty-eight gusheh.[1] He added: "But the present system is restricted to seven Dastgāh, sub-divided into numerous tunes" (Mehrin 1938, 1:222). He also mentioned the Iranian musician, Ali-Naqi Vaziri, and his theory of twenty-four quarter tones:

> The quarter tone system is supposed to have been originated by Iranian musicians. The octave was divided into 24 equal parts. […] The influence of European music has been strongly felt in Islamic countries, for example, in Iran, Turkey, and Arabia. The latest treatise on Iranian music has been written by Col. Ali Naqi Khan [Vaziri], who besides knowing Iranian music is also acquainted with European music (Mehrin 1938, 1:223–24).

Ali-Naqi Vaziri (1887–1979) was the most influential figure of Persian music in the twentieth century. He published his first book in Berlin in 1923 just before returning to Persia (Vaziri 1923), and although his works were all written in Persian, he influenced the ethnomusicological literature on Persian music indirectly through his students' works in French, German, and English, and through the works by subsequent generations of Iranian musicologists who were influenced by his theories. Vaziri not only followed Lemaire in considering "gammes" for the dastgāh, but he also explained essential scales for the various dastgāh and thus clearly established the dastgāh as the modal system of Persian music. While Lemaire recognized that six dastgāh had different scales, Vaziri adopted a more radical approach in applying European music theory and recognized four scales for the four dastgāh, Māhur, Homāyun, Chahārgāh, and Shur (Vaziri 1923, 129–30). The remaining three dastgāh were categorized as "belonging to" the other four dastgāh; therefore, Rāst-Panjgāh belonged to Māhur, Navā belonged to Shur, and Segāh

[1] This system is addressed in Chapter 4 of the dissertation.

belonged to Chahārgāh. In his following publication on music theory, Vaziri stated that in categorizing the dastgāh system, he maintained his earlier (1923) stance with minor alterations (Vaziri 1934a, 2:16); however, he explained all seven dastgāh and their important parts. While Lemaire and Vaziri's explanations implied that the dastgāh was equivalent to modes for Persian music, neither mentioned that in an explicit statement. Following Lemaire's statement that Persian music was performed in six dastgāh with different scales, Vaziri explained the modal system by determining scales for the dastgāh; this started the tradition of explaining the Persian modal system by assigning fixed scales to the seven dastgāh.

In 1946, about twenty years after Vaziri started his movement in Iran, Iranian physicist and musician, Mehdi Barkechli (1912–1988), was sent to France to continue his education. He studied physics and acoustics, at the University of Paris (Sorbonne) and the Aix-Marseille University, and he returned to Iran in the early 1950s (Mir-Alinaqi 2016). In 1945, before he was sent to France, he had compiled a short bilingual (French and Persian) book on Persian music in Tehran. In the French part of his short book, Barkechli interpreted dastgāh as a "système," and in a short explanation in the footnote, he explained: "Dastgāh means tonality, or 'tabagheh,' as stated by our ancient musicologists. In European music, there are only two systems: major tonality and minor tonality" (Barkechli 1947, 21 fr).[1] However, in the Persian part of the book, he added the following two sentences to that footnote:

> There are seven tabagheh or tonalities in our music, of which two match the two tabagheh of the Europeans—Māhur with major and Homāyun with minor—and the rest are independent. Each gusheh or maqam has the same role as the mode in Western music, which, similar to the Western church modes, is in a certain tonality, but it is reshaped and recolored in a certain colors. (Barkechli 1947, 26 per).[2]

Thus, Barkechli explained the Persian modal system as a set of the seven different tonalities, each of which contained several modes that were in that tonality. That explanation was

[1] "Dastgah signifie (Tonalité) ou « Tabagheh » comme ont dit nos anciens musicologues. Dans la musique européenne il n'y a que deux systèmes : tonalité majeure et tonalité mineure."

[۲] «در موسیقی ما هفت طبقه یا تنالیته موجود است که دو تای آنها با دو طبقهٔ اروپاییها تطبیق می کند – ماهور با قوی و هایون با لین مطابقت دارد – و بقیه مستقل اند. هر گوشه یا مقام در حکم مد (Mode) موسیقی مغرب زمین است که در هر طبقه به سبک مدهای کلیسایی غربی تغییر شکل داده و رنگ خاص می گیرد.»

similar to Alfred Lemaire's first interpretation of the Persian music system, which described the system as a collection of the āvāz performed in six dastgāh with six different scales. While Lemaire presented an outsider's interpretation of the Persian music system using European musical concepts and terminology, Barkechli added arbitrary use and wrong interpretations of the old terms for Persian music.

Barkechli defined dastgāh as tonality or tabagheh, which equates tabagheh with tonality. The literal meaning of the Arabic term tabaqah could be degree, class, or story (Johnson 1852, 812), but as a musical term, Safi-od-Din Ormavi first introduced tabaqah in reference to the modal structure transpositions of a certain mode to all seventeen notes of his theoretical scale: "For each cycle, there are seventeen positions called tabaqāt" (Ormavi n.d., fol. 8r).[1] It was wrong, and an arbitrary use of tabaqah by Barkechli, to claim that "our ancient musicians" equated tabaqah with tonality, when tabaqah referred to modal structure transpositions. It was also erroneous to equate the term maqam with gusheh; maqam and gusheh were not equal terms, although they both referred to modes. Qotb-od-Din Shirazi first registered the term maqam in reference to the common modes (Q.-D. Shirazi 1306, fol. 198r), but it was later established as an alternative term to Ormavi's set of the twelve modes (*e.g.*, A.-Q. Marāghi 1418, fol. 35r). Additionally, Marāghi first introduced gusheh as a term referring to the primary modes, i.e., pardeh, *dawr*, and maqam, but it was later established as a set of forty-eight modes (see Chapter 4) and it referred to the pieces in each dastgāh in the modern system of Persian music (Lawergren, Farhat, and Blum 2015). Thus, Lemaire's outsider interpretation was restyled as an insider's interpretation, and the indigenous terminology was used differently to its indigenous use. However, many modern Persian musicologists used old musical terms quite arbitrarily; for instance, Khaleqi used maqam to equal tonality, dastgāh, and mode in three consecutive pages (Khaleqi 1983, 2:128–30).

At the end of his first publication, Mehdi Barkechli described the details of the Persian music system as a set of seven dastgāh, each containing several gusheh (Barkechli 1947, 21–2 fr), and he relied on a unique transcription of the radif by Mehdi-Qoli Hedāyat, which was preserved at the School of Music in Tehran (Barkechli 1947, 21 fr).

[1] «لكل دائرة سبعة عشر موضعاً تسمى الطبقات»

While conducting research in France, Barkechli produced two theses at the University of Aix-Marseille: *Régime sonore d'une salle après l'extinction de la source* (Barkechli 1950d) and *Mesure des intervalles harmoniques de la gamme à partir de la sensation subjective de consonance* (Barkechli 1950c). Then, under supervision of Eugène Darmois (1884–1958), he wrote a thesis from which his first French article, "La gamme de la musique Iranienne," was extracted (Barkechli 1950e).

Barkechli's research interest was on the acoustics of Persian Music, and more specifically he examined the Persian musical intervals and scales. His first French article was mostly a mathematical explanation of the musical intervals according to Fārābi (872–950) and Ormavi (d.1294). He used and cited works by Raphael Kiesewetter (1773–1850), François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871), and Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856) (Barkechli 1950e, 4–5), and he also seemed to be influenced by the celebrated German physicist, Hermann von Helmholtz (1821–1894), although he did not mention Helmholtz in his article. In fact, Helmholtz had already been introduced to Persian scholars and his name had been included in the subtitle of a pioneering Persian publication on the theory of music, *Majma'-ol-Advār: Dowreh-ye Kāmel-e Musiqi az Abd-ol-Mo'men tā Helmholtz* by Mehdi-Qoli Hedāyat (Hedāyat 1938b). As previously mentioned, Barkechli had relied on Hedāyat to provide a list of the seven dastgāh in his first publication.

The last section of Barkechli's article was a brief report examining the musical intervals of contemporary Iranian music using a cathode ray oscilloscope. While mentioning the names of a few modes, Barkechli reiterated his previous interpretations of the Persian music system; he interpreted gusheh as mode and referred to the dastgāh Māhur as the "système" (Barkechli 1950e, 200). Gusheh was the only Persian modal term that he used in that article; however, he used it to incorrectly refer to āvāz Dashti, which was a sub-dastgāh rather than a gusheh. He also listed another sub-dastgāh, āvāz Bayāt Esfahān, with Chahārgāh, Homāyun, and Shur, to refer to the dastgāh, which he categorized as the "système," and Bayāt Esfahān was thus translated and erroneously classified as a dastgāh.

At about the same time, Barkechli published two articles in *Olympia: Journal der musikalischen Wettkämpfe*, "La gamme persane et ses rapports avec la gamme occidentale" and

"Ancient and Modern Iranian Music in Relation to Popular Tradition" (Barkechli 1950b, 1950a). In the latter article, Barkechli briefly referred to the dastgāh system:

> At the present time only 7 are used. We quote as examples three 'Dastgah' corresponding to the major tonalities of the key of D without alteration which the Middle Ages borrowed from the Orient and which the modern West is beginning to use again (Barkechli 1950a, 26).

Then, he described the three dastgāh as Māhur (T, T, L. T, T, T, L.),[1] Esfahān (T, L, T. T, L, T+L+C, L.), and Navā (T, L, T. T, T, L, T); however, he added in his endnotes that in the course of certain modulations, Esfahān could be (T, L, T. T, L, T, T.) or (T, L, T. T, L+C, L+L+L, L+C.), and Navā could be (T, L, T. T, L, T, T) (Barkechli 1950a, 29). His brief description is extremely ambiguous because he did not specify the "major" tonalities to which those three dastgāh corresponded. Moreover, he used Esfahān as a dastgāh, even though he classified in his following publications that Esfahān was commonly known as a subset of dastgāh Homāyun (Marufi 1963, Intro. 49). He also increased the existing confusion by referring to the European modes of the Middle Ages and by suggesting alterations for the Persian modes in the course of certain modulations.

Zaven Hacobian (also Ter-Hacobian, b. 1927), was an Iranian who studied music at University of Strasbourg in France after having received a basic music education in Tehran. Hacobian's dissertation was apparently the first PhD dissertation in music submitted by an Iranian student. He applied the disciplinary methodology of musicology, cited sources within the text instead of preparing a bibliography, and used several Persian writings by Vaziri, Khaleqi, and Hedāyat, and the bilingual short book written in Persian and French by Barkechli. Hacobian defined dastgāh as being equal to a mode (Hacobian 1954, 123), but he later interpreted dastgāh as a collection of modes known as gusheh; more importantly, he stated about dastgāh that "It is also frequently called āvāz"[2] (Hacobian 1954, 142).

[1] He used T, L, and C, for major tone, Limma, and comma respectively, all from the Pythagorean scale.

[2] "Il est aussi appelé couramment Avâz."

Hacobian followed Khaleqi (Khaleqi 1983, 2:127) in positing five dastgāh for Persian music, although he stated in the footnote that the "classement ancient" (old classification) was the system of seven dastgāh (Hacobian 1954, 143, fn). He addressed two matters of controversy over the mode classification, the first was that the two dastgāh of Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh did not have independent scales and could be classified as subsets of Shur and Māhur, respectively (Hacobian 1954, 143, fn), and the second was that the more developed secondary modes could be raised as independent dastgāh. He stated: "There are certain secondary modes, which were developed more than the others, and found a certain significance. Some masters, given the importance of these modes, consider them as independent dastgâhs"[1] (Hacobian 1954, 143, fn). Hacobian's early mention of the tendency to raise the more developed āvāz to the higher position of dastgāh reflected an insider's observation of the evolutionary process undergone by the Persian modal system in the course of the second quarter of the twentieth century. Hacobian's description of the dastgāh system comprised of dastgāh Shur, including Abu-Atā, Bayāt Tork, Dashti, and Navā (Hacobian 1954, 144–50), dastgāh Māhur, including Rāst-Panjgāh (Hacobian 1954, 150–53), dastgāh Homāyun (Hacobian 1954, 153–56), dastgāh Segāh (Hacobian 1954, 156), and dastgāh Chahārgāh (Hacobian 1954, 157–59), and he mentioned Afshāri as part of Shur (Hacobian 1954, 166). Hacobian not only discussed Persian art music in his dissertation, but also dedicated a whole chapter to addressing folkloric music of Iran (Hacobian 1954, 169–200).

Parviz Mahmoud (1910–1996), another Iranian who studied music in Europe, studied at the Conservatoire Royale de Musique in Brussels from 1928 to 1941 and, after working in Iran for eight years, he moved to the United States where he conducted PhD research (Mahmoud 1956, 165). His dissertation, titled "A Theory of Persian Music and Its Relation to Western Practice," was submitted to the Graduate School of Indiana University in 1956. Following Hacobian's lead, Mahmoud distinguished between Persian music of the urban areas and the music of the various ethnic cultures across rural Iran. He therefore dedicated a large portion of his dissertation to what he called "Persian folk-tunes" (Mahmoud 1956, 46–80). Writing about the dastgāh, he stated: "There are various Dastgahs in Persian music as practiced today. Some of them are less elaborate; these we shall refer to as 'Suites'" (Mahmoud 1956, 81). After that brief mention, he explains the

[1] "Qu'il y a certaine modes secondaires, qui développés plus que les autres, ont trouvé une certaine importance. Certains maîtres, vu l'importance de ces modes, les font passer des 'dastgâhs' indépendants."

performance style and analyzes modes, thus indicating that his main focus was to analyze, rather than classify, the modes. Mahmoud actually had a greater interest in European music than Persian music, and he even criticized Ali-Naqi Vaziri, the iconic figure of modernization in Persian music based on European music theory, and his dedicated follower, Ruhollah Khaleqi for having "limited knowledge which did not exceed the I, IV, V tertian chords" (Mahmoud 1956, 6–7). He also completely rejected Vaziri's theory of twenty-four quarter tones. According to Parviz Mahmoud, Persian music consists of the following seven dastgāh and five suites (Mahmoud 1956, 82–83):

1. Dastgāh Māhur.

2. Dastgāh Shur, including four suites of Abu-Atā, Bayāt Tork, Afshāri, and Dashti.

3. Dastgāh Navā.

4. Dastgāh Homāyun, including suite of Esfahān.

5. Dastgāh Segāh.

6. Dastgāh Chahārgāh.

7. Dastgāh Rāst-Panjgāh.

Parviz Mahmoud relied on two sources, Abol-Hasan Sabā (1902–1957), who gave him his recently published teaching method for violin, and Ebrahim Mansuri (1899–1969), who had sent him his unpublished explanation of the dastgāh collection (Mahmoud 1956, 84). Although Mahmoud produced an early explanation of the dastgāh system in a European language, his dissertation had little influence on the subsequent writings on Persian music in European languages, perhaps because it was never published as a book or an article, or possibly because he simply picked the system that he had obtained from his sources and merely focused on attempting to explain melodic intervals and melodic progressions in each dastgāh while engaged in his search for a theory for Persian music.

In 1960, Barkechli published a relatively more detailed account of the history and characteristics of Persian Music, which was published as a chapter in the *Histoire de la musique* of the *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade* (Barkechli 1960). This account began with description of music

in ancient Persia and proceeded to give a more detailed account of the music in the territory of the Persian Empire after it was conquered by Muslim troops. The following section was an extended version of his article, "La gamme de la musique Iranienne," which explained the intervals, tetrachords, and scales, as explained in the Persian and Arabic musical writings. This was followed by an extended version of the results of his acoustical research on the intervals of the contemporary Persian classical music. The next section provided an account of the historical modal systems of Persian music including the scales of the various historical modes. The final section offered a relatively detailed account of the contemporary modal system of dastgāh.

Similar to his previous article, Barkechli used gusheh as an equivalent term for mode and dastgāh as an equivalent term for system, a class of modes united by a central mode (Barkechli 1960, 477–78). Barkechli also provided a brief description of the modal system:

> Iranian traditional music as played by contemporary artists is based on seven primary systems (*dastgah*) and includes about 228 modal combinations (*goucheh*).[1] (Barkechli 1960, 504)

Following his brief explanation of the gusheh and dastgāh, Barkechli introduced the melodic function of each of the principal degrees of the scales of the Persian modes, namely *shāhed* (witness, evidence, indicant), *ist* (stop, halt, pause), and *motaghayyer* (variable, changeable, alterable). The three terms were first introduced to the European musicological literature by Zaven Hacobian (Hacobian 1954, 128–30); however, they were borrowed from Ali-Naqi Vaziri, who had previously introduced them in his Persian book on the theory of music (*e.g.*, Vaziri 1934a, 2:16, 22–5). While Vaziri was the pioneer to interpret and explain the modal system of Persian music using the categories provided by European music theory, Hacobian included it in his limited-access dissertation. Barkechli elaborated and systematized Vaziri's interpretation by applying methods that he had learned from European science. Following Hacobian's unpublished dissertation, which is still difficult to access, Barkechli was a decisive trailblazer through introducing Vaziri's interpretation to the field of European musicology, and by doing so, he established a tradition and

[1] "La musique traditionnelle iranienne que jouent les artistes contemporains est basée sur sept systèmes (*dastgah*) principaux et comprend environ 228 combinaisons modales (*goucheh*)."

influenced other musicologists in Europe, including subsequent Persian musicologists who published their works in European languages. In his new publication, Barkechli again considered gusheh as the equivalent of mode and referred to the dastgāh as the "système" (Barkechli 1960, 477). However, Esfahān was also referred to as a "mode" more than once (Barkechli 1960, 478, 487), while it was classified as a "système secondaire" elsewhere in the same book (Barkechli 1960, 523), and it had been previously mentioned as one of the three dastgāh "corresponding to the major tonalities" of European music (Barkechli 1950a, 26). At the end of his new publication, Barkechli added the following final statement on the modal system of Persian music:

> The two hundred and twenty-eight modes [i.e., gusheh] which contemporary Iranian artists perform are composed of the seven principal systems, Shur, Māhour, Homāyoun, Segāh, Chahārgāh, Navā, and Rāst-Panjgāh, and the five secondary systems, Abu-Atā, Bayāt Tork, Afshār, Dashti, and Bayat Esfahān.[1] (Barkechli 1960, 523)

According to Barkechli, the Persian modal system consisted of seven "systèmes principaux" (dastgāh) and five "systèmes secondaires," which he referred to as "naghmeh" following Vaziri's arbitrary choice of using naghmeh for the subsets of a dastgāh (Vaziri 1934a, 2:20).[2] The four naghmeh of Abu-Atā, Bayāt Tork, Afshāri, and Dashti were included in Dastgāh Shur and the fifth naghmeh, Bayāt Esfahān, was included in Dastgāh Homāyun (Barkechli 1960, 505–23). Barkechli reused the material as an introduction to a transcription of the seven dastgāh by Musa Ma'rufi (d. 1965), the first published transcription of the entire radif (Marufi 1963).

In 1960, Hormoz Farhat (b. 1928) wrote a short account of Persian music for the Festival of Oriental Music and the Related Arts, which was held at the University of California, Los Angeles, on May 8–20 (Farhat 1960). Farhat stated the following on mode classification: "The

[1] "Les deux cent vingt-huit modes sur lesquels travaillent les artistes iraniens contemporains sont composés sur les sept systèmes principaux, *chour*, *mahour*, *homayoun*, *ségah*, *tchehargah*, *navâ*, et *râst-pandjgâh*, et sur les cinq systèmes secondaires, *abou-atâ*, *bayaté-tork*, *afchâr*, *dacheti* et *bayâté-isfahan*."

[2] Prior to Vaziri's use of the term naghmeh for subsets of the dastgāh, naghmah was a common term in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish musical texts referring to notes or musical pitches.

gushés are classified under seven *dastgah*, and five sub-dastgah, or *avaz*" (Farhat 1960, 59). He later added the list of the seven dastgāh and five āvāz as follows:

> As recognized by the classical tradition, the seven dastgahs are: Mahur, Shur, Segah, Chahargah, Homayun, Nava, and Rast-Panjgah. Four of the five avaz: Abu Ata, Bayat-é Tork, Afshari and Dashti, are taken as derivatives of Shur. The fifth, Bayat-é Esfahan, is traditionally accepted as a sub-dastgah of Homayun (Farhat 1960, 61).

However, he considered both individual mode and cadential patterns essential to the composition of a dastgāh, and concluded that there were nine scales of the basic modes in Persian music, six of the seven dastgāh, and three of the five āvāz: Māhur, Shur, Segāh, Chahārgāh, Homāyun, Nava, Bayāt Tork, Afshāri, and Bayāt Esfahān (Farhat 1960, 61). These nine scales were included in the appendices of Farhat's account (Farhat 1960, 76).

Perhaps because of the increased attention to Persian music, or perhaps because the Iranian government had used Persian music to strengthen its national identity, or possibly because UNESCO's policy, a landmark event, the Meeting of the International Music Council of UNESCO, was held in Iran on April 6 to 12, 1961, under the title "The Preservation of Traditional Forms of the Learned and Popular Music of the Orient and the Occident." Held in Tehran, the conference brought together a considerable number of musicologists from around the world. Most of the presented papers were published in a proceedings volume edited by the American ethnomusicologist, William Kay Archer (1927–1997) (Archer 1964). Holding such a big event in the early 1960s could be why musicologists began to devote more attention to the music of Iran; those who attended the conference were more likely to write about Persian music in the years that followed. The conference in Tehran was also a great opportunity for the Iranian musicologists in the 1960s to share their ideas and concepts of music. Several Iranian musicologists and musicians also attended the conference, notably the pioneer of applying European music theory to Persian music, Ali-Naqi Vaziri. At that time, Vaziri was a 74-year-old professor of aesthetics at the University of Tehran, and he attended with several of his students, including Mehdi Barkechli and Ruhollah Khaleqi, and a few Iranian musicologists who were studying music and musicology at European institutions, such as Zaven Hacobian and Khatschi Khatschi (b. 1931). The group of

international musicologists also included a German-trained musicologist based in Israel, Edith Gerson-Kiwi (1908–1992).

None of the presentations at the conference was dedicated to the modal system of Persian music. However, Zaven Hacobian presented a paper on the theme of hybridization of Oriental and Occidental music, in which he repeated Barkechli's interpretations, defining dastgāh as "système principal," which included several "combinaisons modales secondaires" or gusheh (Hacobian 1964, 151). In another presentation titled "The Integration of Dastgah and Maqam in Oriental-Jewish Liturgies," Edith Gerson-Kiwi referred to "the melodic system of dastgah and maqam" (Gerson-Kiwi 1964, 146). Marius Schneider (1903–1982), another speaker of the congress, informed the audience that his student at the University of Cologne, Khatschi Khatschi, had submitted material for a doctoral dissertation (Schneider 1964, 232). Khatschi's dissertation was published as a book, *Der Dastgāh: Studien zur neuen persischen Musik*, two years after it was submitted (Khatschi 1962). Khatschi studied music in Tehran and moved to Cologne, Germany, where he continued studying at the Staatliche Hochschule für Muisk. He then conducted doctorate research at the University of Cologne under the supervision of Marius Schneider (Khatschi 1962, 202). Chapter 3 focuses on Khatschi's dissertation in which he outlined a system of twelve dastgāh for Persian music.

Chapter 3: The Emergence of the Twelve Dastgāh System in Ethnomusicology Literature

Barkechli had twelve items listed in the bibliography page of his account of Persian music (Barkechli 1960, 525); three of which were his own works and the remaining items included only one Persian source: Vaziri's explanation of the Persian modes based on European music theory (Vaziri 1934a). Khatschi extended the bibliography and included a pioneering Persian publication on music, *Bohur-ol-Alhān*, published by Mohammad-Nasir Forsat Shirazi in 1914 (Khatschi 1962, 132). Although Khatschi did not cite Zaven Hacobian, his Iranian colleague who submitted his dissertation six years earlier, a few shared errors indicate that Khatschi had used Hacobian's dissertation. For instance, they both claimed that Vaziri published his first book in 1913 in Berlin (Hacobian 1954, 117; Khatschi 1962, 74), but Vaziri held his military position in the Persian Army until 1917 (Khoshzamir 1979, 56) and published his book just before returning to Iran in 1923 (Khaleqi 1983, 2:98). Vaziri stated that his book was based on a draft that he had prepared in 1913 (Vaziri 1923, 5); however, that does not explain why Khatschi considered 1913 as the publication year for Vaziri's book; Khatschi had wrongly concluded that Vaziri had prepared his preliminary draft in 1903 (Khatschi 1962, 74). However, Vaziri was born in 1887 (Khoshzamir 1979, 51), meaning that he was only sixteen years old in 1903.

In his foreword, Khatschi pointed to the fundamental issues regarding study of the Persian modal system, and by doing so, his work became a pioneering contribution in the critical study of Persian music. First, he referred to the oral origin of Persian Music and the lack of written documents including transcriptions, adding that the written form of the oral tradition had only begun a few decades earlier. More importantly, while previous writers simply wrote about Persian music as a shared national phenomenon, Khatschi specified that there were different versions of the traditional repertory of Persian music and added that the dominant version, which was attributed to Mirza Abdollah (d. 1918), was his students' knowledge rather than Mirza Abdollah's narration (Khatschi 1962, 3). It was astute of him to point out that all publications on Persian music were exclusively related to a single radif attributed to Mirza Abdollah, even though they all relied on his students' knowledge rather than Mirza Abdollah's narration (Khatschi 1962, 4). Khatschi

also raised the question of variants in the Persian modal system, implying that previous writers simply analyzed the established version that they had learned. However, Khatschi made some fundamental errors in his source criticism, leading him to erroneous conclusions. Khatschi used an inaccurate story to claim that the Persian music system was based on a set of ten dastgāh, even though that story was only a description of seven dastgāh, and he rearranged the Persian music system as a set of twelve dastgāh using incorrect arguments that were based on mistaken facts from various sources.

Khatschi was a trained violinist and, after arriving in Germany, he attempted to improve his performance skills at the Hochschule für Musik in Cologne, however, he gave up becoming a musician and enrolled in a musicology program (Khatschi 1962, 202). He had the intelligence to go beyond measuring musical intervals to explain the Persian modes, but he conducted historical research for which he was not methodologically prepared. Although Khatschi was Iranian-Armenian, he had a European music education in Iran, and his knowledge of traditional Persian music was limited. His transliterations of the Persian modes show that he did not know the vowels of unfamiliar words, because vowels are not written down in Persian writings and the reader should know the words in order to transliterate them correctly. For instance, instead of Qaracheh, he wrote Qercheh; instead of Qarāi, he wrote Qorāi; and instead of Gavri, he wrote Guri or Guray. He also wrote the following, the correct words are written in parentheses: Shah Khotāi (Shah Khatāi), Ghazāl (Ozzāl), Majseli and Majlesi (Majosli), Bahār-e Nouruz (Bahr-r Nur), and Ma‘rebad (Mo‘arbad) (Khatschi 1962, 77–86). Such errors bring to light Khatschi’s limited knowledge of Persian music.

Khatschi also made fundamental mistakes while using early publications of Persian music. In 1960, when Khatschi submitted his dissertation, Persian musical writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were generally unexplored. When Khatschi read a summary of discourses from those writings in Forsat’s book, *Bohur-ol-Alhān* (M.-N. Shirazi 1914), he related them to Forsat. For instance, he related the Safavid derivational relations[1] between the six āvāz and the twelve maqam to Forsat (Khatschi 1962, 47, 48). Similarly, Khatschi assumed that the sixteen examples of the concept of mixed modes (tarkib, morakkab), which Forsat included in his

[1] The Safavid derivative relations between the modes is discussed in Chapter 4.

summary (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 19–21), were another category of mode classification. Since Forsat used āvāz as a general term for mode,[1] Khatschi concluded that there was a set of sixteen āvāz similar to the seven dastgāh (Khatschi 1962, 48–50).[2] Despite Khatschi's assumptions, both concepts that he related to Forsat appeared in Persian musical writings of the seventeenth century (*e.g.*, Kowkabi 1983, 18–19). Moreover, the concept of combined modes was not limited to a set of specified number of modes, and the derivate relations, which were rather symbolic, were extended to twenty-four sho'beh and beyond (see Chapter 4, Section 3). Having espoused those assumptions, Khatschi tried to compare the thirteenth-century classification of six āvāz and twelve maqam with the concept of sixteen āvāz, which he invented by wrongly attributing an old discourse to a recent author (Khatschi 1962, 50–51).

Since Khatschi generally relied on twentieth-century writings, he reached further erroneous conclusions while reading old texts. He took a section of Hedāyat's book to conclude that a system of ten maqam existed in the fifteenth century (Khatschi 1962, 68–69; Hedāyat 1938c, 2:29–41). However, Hedāyat had merely reproduced Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi's discourse on the relation between the modes. Marāghi wrote about the entire twelve maqam one by one, but since the first three maqam, Oshshāq, Navā, and Busalik, shared the same scale with different starting notes, his first sentence explained the related modes to the three maqam together (A.-Q. Marāghi 1966, 83). Apparently Hedāyat had missed Marāghi's point and jumped from Oshshāq to Rāst, which was the fourth maqam in Marāghi's explanation of the related modes. That led Khatschi to the bigger misunderstanding of concluding that Marāghi was referring only to a set of ten maqam.

Khatschi's mind was so focused on a system of ten dastgāh that he even deduced another system of ten dastgāh from Vaziri's interpretations (Khatschi 1962, 75–76), and he ignored that Vaziri had specified four independent scales with five dependent ones, making a sum of nine modes (Vaziri 1923, 129–30). He also ignored that Vaziri listed seven modes as the dependents of dastgāh Shur, which could make a total of fourteen modes (Vaziri 1923, 120). It thus seems that Khatschi preferred to emphasize the number of modes when it was a set of ten, presumably because

[1] *e.g.,* "tarkib-e āvāz-hā" (mixing of the modes) (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 19).

[2] As is discussed in Parts II and III, the Persian modal system was based on the āvāz, which could be performed independently or with a group of āvāz in the frame of a dastgāh.

a system of ten modes would support his reference to a narrative written down by Bahā-od-Din Bāmshād, which claimed that the Persian music system consisted of ten dastgāh (Bāmshād 1958).

Khatschi was sometimes inexcusably inaccurate while citing his sources. In a direct quote from Khaleqi, for instance, he applied Bāmshād's error to Khaleqi's text, and while Khaleqi mentioned Āqā Gholām-Hoseyn's correct kinship with Mirza Abdollah as cousins, Khatschi changed it from cousin to nephew (Khatschi 1962, 2). It was Bāmshād who claimed that Āqā Gholām-Hoseyn was Mirza Abdollah's uncle (Bāmshād 1958, 47), while Khaleqi clearly considered them "cousins" (Khatschi 1962, 2; Khaleqi 1955, 114).

Bāmshād's short story on the dastgāh system also needs to be evaluated (Bāmshād 1958). Bāmshād's story, which Khatschi relied on to conclude a system of twelve dastgāh, has been recently republished in an Iranian music journal as a valuable historical account worthy of being republished on paper (Bāmshād 2015), even though a digital copy of the original publication is available online (Bāmshād 2016). The narrator of the story, Bahā-od-Din Bāmshād, was not from a traditional family of musicians, and seems rather to have been a mediocre musician with ordinary training in European music. Bāmshād is mentioned as one of the thirteen directors of the Tehran Conservatory of Music serving from 1952 to 1956; however, he is one of the three lesser-known directors whose biographies were unavailable for inclusion in the conservatory's history webpage ("Tārikh-cheh-ye Honarestān-e Musiqi" 2016).

Bāmshād's story is inaccurate in many ways and contradicts other narratives in various ways. First, Bāmshād referred to "an old man" but failed to provide a proper name for the source of his narrative (Bāmshād 1958, 47); by contrast, Forsat and Hedāyat referred to a well-known informant named Mehdi Solhi, a celebrated pupil of Mirza Abdollah, who Khatschi also mentioned (Khatschi 1962, 4). Bāmshād's story also contained incorrect information relating to the genealogy of Mirza Abdollah, and he stated that the two celebrated musicians, Āqā Ali-Akbar and Āqā Gholām-Hoseyn, were brothers (Bāmshād 1958, 47); whereas, the earliest documentations of the oral history of Persian music claimed that that Gholām-Hoseyn was Ali-Akbar's nephew (Khaleqi 1955, 110; Mashhun 2001, 564). Bāmshād's account even contained basic mistakes when describing the subject of the narrative, the dastgāh system. He stated that Mirza Abdollah considered Āvāz Bayāt Esfahān as part of dastgāh Shur (Bāmshād 1958, 49), while as Khatschi

mentioned, the scales of Bayāt Esfahān and Homāyun are close (Khatschi 1962, 24) and Bayāt Esfahān is considered as part of dastgāh Homāyun in oral tradition (Talai 1995).

Bāmshād provided a list of Mirza Abdollah's pupils containing mistaken names, some of which were contemporary musicians, presenting another sign of the inaccuracy of his narration. For example, one of the names listed was Habib Samā-Hozur, who was not a pupil of the celebrated tar player, Mirza Abdollah, but came from a different tradition of santur players. Habib Samā-Hozur was born into a musical family and his father, Gholām-Hoseyn also known as Āqā Jān, was a well-known musician (Khaleqi 1955, 160, fn1). Nāser-od-Din Shah mentioned "Āqā Jān Santuri [santur-player] and his sons" in his diary as early as 1865 (N.-D. Shah 2011, 315). Although it is said that Habib Samā-Hozur had also practiced santur with the celebrated master of santur, Mohammad-Sādeq Sorur-ol-Molk (Khaleqi 1955, 155), Bāmshād has been the only writer who claimed Samā-Hozur was a pupil of Mirza Abdollah.

Despite providing a description of the seven dastgāh, Bāmshād added an inaccurate story stating that the Persian music system was based on ten dastgāh. He even adapted stories that were common among musicians to suit his version of the ten dastgāh. For instance, Dariouche Safvate, who had direct contact with the circle of traditional musicians, explained that when Mirza Abdollah knew only five of the seven dastgāh, he had to hide behind doors and windows to listen to Āqā Gholām-Hosein (his cousin) to learn the two remaining dastgāh, Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh. His cousin had refused to teach him any more as a way of maintaining artistic superiority over Mirza Abdollah (Safvate and Caron 1966, 219–20). However, to suit his version of the ten dastgāh, Bāmshād changed the numbers seven and five to ten and eight, and he narrated that Mirza Abdollah learned eight of the ten dastgāh from Āqā Gholām-Hosein, and he learned the two remaining dastgāh, Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh, by hiding behind the doors and trees while Āqā Gholām-Hosein practiced them (Bāmshād 1958, 47). None of the previous musical texts ever recorded a set of ten modes in Persian music in the past, most likely because it contradicts the Persian symbolism of numbers, which has been embodied as sets of seven or twelve modes.[1]

[1] The earliest system of Persian music consisted of seven modes attributed to the pre-Islamic Persian musician, Bārbad. The group of twelve primary modes and six secondary modes appeared in the thirteenth-century Persian texts. In the course of the fifteenth to

Because of the discrepancy between the stories, Khatschi concluded that Mirza Abdollah had reduced the ten dastgāh to seven dastgāh because of a common tendency. For instance, having related the Safavid derivational relations between the six āvāz and the twelve maqam to Forsat, Khatschi concluded that a similar reductionist tendency applied to Mirza Abdollah's reduction of the ten dastgāh to the seven dastgāh. He added that the dastgāh system developed from a bigger number of smaller complexes of modes into a smaller number of larger complexes (Khatschi 1962, 48). In the fourth chapter, he also referred to Vaziri's reclassification of the dastgāh system into four primary dastgāh, which had independent scales and intonations, and he again concluded that it was the product of a reductionist tendency (Khatschi 1962, 75). However, Khatschi's postulate of a reductionist tendency was wrong because the three issues that he had associated with the reductionist tendency were of entirely different natures. The derivational relations between the six āvāz and the twelve maqam, which Khatschi had related to Forsat, were symbolic relations—rather than a reduction of one set to another—that were developed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although similar derivational relations had been previously mentioned by Mohammad Nishāburi in the thirteenth century (Nishāburi 1265, fol. 27v). The second reduction that Khatschi attributed to Mirza Abdollah was a rearrangement of the dastgāh system by an eminent musician, Mirza Abdollah, who is considered a main source of the dastgāh system. The third reduction was a result of forcing European music theory onto the Persian music system, which reduced the seven dastgāh into four principle dastgāh based on different scales and considered the remaining dastgāh as subsets of the four principle dastgāh.

Despite Khatschi's attempts to create a reductionist tendency based on the three aforementioned instances, to justify increasing the number of dastgāh, he stated that Vaziri took the first step to increase the number of the dastgāh to ten, adding that by the late 1920s, the number of dastgāh had increased to twelve (Khatschi 1962, 76). In his first book, Vaziri attempted to reduce the dastgāh system to a system of four dastgāh with more independent intonations (Vaziri 1923, 129–30), but in 1934 he put aside his personal interpretation to adhere to the dominant tradition (Vaziri 1934a, 2:165) which, he specified, was based on seven dastgāh (Vaziri 1934a,

seventeenth centuries, groups of modes containing twenty-four and forty-eight modes were developed in a symbolic manner. The dastgāh system first appeared as a set of twelve dastgāh and later evolved into a set of seven dastgāh. See Chapter 4.

2:16). Vaziri's adherence to the traditional classification should not be mistaken for a tendency to increase the number of the modes.

Last, if Bāmshād's account was to be considered correct by Khatschi, then Khatschi should have followed Bāmshād's account and introduced the system of ten dastgāh. However, Khatschi only picked up on one sentence in which Bāmshād stated that Bayāt Esfahān, Abu-Atā, and Bayāt Tork used to be called dastgāh, and he extended that to include two other modes, Abu-Atā and Dashti. By doing so, Khatschi constructed a system of twelve dastgāh by rearranging the dominant system of the seven dastgāh and five sub-dastgāh. Not only would the number of twelve dastgāh conform to Persian symbolism, but it would also be less complex to understand and explain because it would eliminate the necessity to explain the differences between a dastgāh and a sub-dastgāh. It was easier for Europeans to read about twelve dastgāh rather than seven dastgāh and five sub-dastgāh, and at the same time, it would add more symbolic value to have twelve units rather than ten. Since Khatschi was trained in European music in Tehran, one might imagine that he was confused about the differences between a dastgāh and a sub-dastgāh—common knowledge among the traditional musicians because they learned by playing the repertory not by analyzing it—and it was clearer for him if the system was arranged as a set of twelve dastgāh. Thus, the concept of the twelve dastgāh was introduced to the field of ethnomusicology.

In 1963, Edith Gerson-Kiwi (1908–1992) published a short account of Persian music (Gerson-Kiwi 1963). Gerson-Kiwi was a German musicologist who moved to Palestine in 1935. She became interested in comparative musicology after she worked with Robert Lachmann (1892–1939) at the Jerusalem Archive for Oriental Music (Katz 2015). Attending the Congress of the International Music Council of UNESCO in Tehran in 1961 could have been a motivation for Gerson-Kiwi to publish a short English account of Persian music. She used the two PhD dissertations by Khatschi Khatschi and Parviz Mahmoud but also relied on information provided to her by Iranian immigrant, Amnon Netzer (Gerson-Kiwi 1963, 7).

Gerson-Kiwi dedicated a section to "Recent Classifications of the Dastgah Types" in which she provided two versions of mode classifications. The first version, which was taken from Ali-Naqi Vaziri's first published book, listed the following five dastgāh:

1. Māhur, with Rāst.

2. Homāyun, with Esfahān.

3. Segāh.

4. Chahārgāh.

5. Shur, with Navā

There was a clear error on Gerson-Kiwi's part, as Vaziri considered Segāh to be part of Chahārgāh and provided scales of four dastgāh with their sub-modes (Vaziri 1923, 129–30). Following this list of five dastgāh, Gerson-Kiwi provided a more detailed explanation of the dastgāh system, which included about fifty "sub-divided dastgah annexes" grouped into five dastgāh and four "annexes" of dastgāh Shur, i.e., Abu-Atā, Bayāt Tork, Afshāri, Dashti (Gerson-Kiwi 1963, 12–13). Gerson-Kiwi likely acquired this information by speaking to interviewing Persian musicians during the congress in Tehran two years before publishing her book or from her Persian source in Israel, Amnon Netzer, whose recordings were used for the music analysis. Although she cited Vaziri's book as her source of information, it was actually Khaleqi who first postulated the system of five dastgāh, later followed by Zaven Hacobian (Khaleqi 1983, 2:127; Hacobian 1954, 143). Gerson-Kiwi followed Khatschi in stating that Vaziri's *Dastur-e Tār* was published in 1913 (Gerson-Kiwi 1963, 11; Khatschi 1962, 74).

Overall, it seems that Gerson-Kiwi was not accurate in mentioning her sources. In terms of mode classification, she referred to "an older treatise on the musical modes, by the Persian Hussein 'Ali 'Abdalla Darwish" (Gerson-Kiwi 1963, 14); however, she failed to specify where she obtained that information and I was unable to find any evidence that could lead to that "older treatise on the musical modes" by Hussein 'Ali 'Abdalla Darwish. The name Hussein 'Ali 'Abdalla Darwish appears to be a combination of three names: the celebrated Mirzā Abdollāh, his younger brother Hoseyn-Qoli, and their influential pupil Darvish Khan, and not a single text attributed to any of those three musicians has been found yet.

Explaining Dastgāh Shur, Gerson-Kiwi indicated that she had "chosen the class of *Shur* and its first annex *Abu-Ata*, as one of the most beloved and most developed Dastgah families" (Gerson-Kiwi 1963, 17). However, the section on Abu-Atā was entitled "The Dastgah Abu Ata—A Companion to Shur" and started with the following sentence: "*Abu-Ata,* as shown in the above

list of classifications, is one of the four satellites of Shur (Molhaghate-Shur), together with (2) *Dashti*, (3) *Bayat-e-Turk*, and (4) *Afshari*" (Gerson-Kiwi 1963, 24). Yet, no explanation was provided about how an "annex" of a dastgāh could be equally titled a dastgāh; thus, it seems that she mixed her personal interpretations with Khatschi Khatschi's invented concept of the twelve dastgāh. Nevertheless, Gerson-Kiwi considered dastgāh as the main modal term equal to the Arabic maqam, which she had also mentioned in her lecture in Tehran (Gerson-Kiwi 1964, 146).

In 1965, Hormoz Farhat submitted a PhD dissertation to the University of California, Los Angeles. Starting with the abstract, he simply referred to the "traditional" twelve dastgāh with no further explanation: "This body of pieces is traditionally arranged into twelve groupings, known as the twelve dastgāhā" (Farhat 1965, xv). However, he also mentioned the "traditional" seven dastgāh: "Traditionally, Navā is regarded as one of the seven dastgāhā" (Farhat 1965, 176). As the following quotation shows, Farhat did not adopt a universal way of referring to the newly added five dastgāh and instead used various terms including dastgāh, sub-dastgāh, secondary dastgāh, dependent dastgāh, derivative dastgāh, satellite of a dastgāh, and affiliated with a dastgāh to refer to those modes:

> Five of these twelve, however, are regarded as dependent or derivative dastgāhā. Four of these five: Abuatā, Dashti, Bayāt-e Tork and Afshāri are considered as satellites of Shur; and Bayāt-e Esfahān Is said to be affiliated with Homāyun. […] It [Shur] contains a large body of pieces, and in its domain belong at least two secondary dastgāhā: Abuatā and Dashti. […] Some musicians have even considered it [Bayāt Kord] as a separate dastgāh or sub-dastgāh inasmuch as Dashti and Abuatā are given that distinction. (Farhat 1965, 30–31, 45, 61)

Rather than mode classification, Farhat's primary interest appeared to lie in explaining the modalities in Persian music by analyzing performances that he had recorded. He therefore simply chose Khatschi Khatschi's classification of the twelve dastgāh to eliminate the essential complication of having a second collection of suites, naghmeh or āvāz, which was hard to understand and explain using European music theory. Khatschi Khatschi theorized the concept of the twelve dastgāh, although his arguments were based on unreliable sources and his unawareness of the musical discourses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led him to several false

conclusions. Almost all of the existing publications introduced a set of seven dastgāh, and as previously explained, Ali Naqi Vaziri revised his arbitrary classification of the 1920s in an attempt to comply with the traditional system of seven dastgāh in his 1930s' publications. Several authors including Mehdi Barkechli and Parviz Mahmud introduced the seven dastgāh system to European musicology, and Farhat mentioned the seven dastgāh implicitly. Nonetheless, Farhat chose Khatschi's arbitrary classification over the traditional seven dastgāh, most probably to avoid explaining the difference between a dastgāh and a sub-dastgāh. Similar to Khatschi, Farhat was trained in European music in Tehran; thus, he presumably also found it easier to comprehend the system arranged as a set of twelve dastgāh. By simply writing about the "traditional" twelve dastgāh, Farhat made it easier for the Western fields of musicology and ethnomusicology to follow him and ignore more complicated versions that were closer to the oral tradition.

A few months after Farhat submitted his dissertation, Ella Zonis (b. 1936) published an article on Persian music in which she stated: "Present-day theorists organize Persian art music into twelve *dastgahs*; seven are principal *dastgahs* and five are considered subsidiary, related by their scales to the principal *dastgahs*" (Zonis 1965, 638). Her interpretation was a mixture of the twelve dastgāh comprising seven dastgāh and five sub-dastgāh. Zonis also prepared a mixed list of five "theorists" who had at least three different approaches. The list included "Ali Naqi Vaziri, Ruhollah Khaleqi, Mehdi Barkechli in Iran; Hormoz Farhat, in the United States; Khatschi Khatschi in Germany" (Zonis 1965, 638, fn10). In another footnote, Zonis explained that the twelve dastgāh consisted of seven primary and five secondary dastgāh: "The seven principal *dastgahs* are *Shour*, *Mahour*, *Homayoun*, *Segah*, *Chahargah*, *Nava*, and *Rast Panjgah*. The five subsidiary *dastgahs* are Esfahan (related to *Homayoun*), and *Dashti*, *Bayate Tork*, *Abu Ata*, and *Afshari* (related to Shour)" (Zonis 1965, 638, fn11). A year later, Ella Zonis published two albums of performed Persian music (Zonis 1966a, Zonis 1966b), and she mentioned on the album cover that she compiled and edited the album "with the technical assistance of Mr. Ruhallah Khaleqi". In the liner notes, Ella Zonis stated: "The repertoire of traditional melody patterns, which musicians use as the basis for their improvisation, is organized into seven systems called dastgah and five secondary systems called avaz" (Zonis 1966a, 1:1). However, this differed slightly from what she had written in her article, and it reflected the traditional system of the seven dastgāh, without incorporating the redefinition by the Iranians who were educated in European musicology.

In 1966, Nelly Caron (d. 1989) and Dariouche Safvate (1928–2013) published a French book on Persian music (Safvate and Caron 1966). The book was based on Dariouche Safvate's knowledge of Persian music that he had acquired from the celebrated Abol-Hasan Sabā (1902–1957) and musicophile, Mohammad Irani-Mojarrad (1910?–1971), a wealthy patron who had established an artistic circle of musicians at his house. Safvate's book reflected the fluidity of the oral knowledge of Persian music. At the beginning of the second chapter, which focused on the characteristics of Persian music, Safvate used twelve āvāz and dastgāh equally and interchangeably:

> The music has twelve essential modal systems, the twelve *Āvāz*, divided into seven main systems, the Dastgāh (which includes five basic scales), and five derived systems that keep the name of *Āvāz* only. An *Āvāz*—or *Dastgāh*—consists of a variable number of more or less short melodic sequences, *Gushe*-s, which follow one another in a certain order called the *Radif*.[1] (Safvate and Caron 1966, 17)

For various meanings of the term āvāz, readers were referred to the fourth chapter of the book, where āvāz was defined as "each of the twelve divisions, or systems of Iranian music"[2] (Safvate and Caron 1966, 49). The fourth and the fifth chapters titled "Les Avaz (Avâz et Dastgâh-s)" were two sections discussing the same theme. The fourth chapter started with a reference to the previous statement on the twelve āvāz, which included seven main systems or dastgāh and five derived systems, which were simply named āvāz. A list of the traditional seven dastgāh with the five additional āvāz followed (Safvate and Caron 1966, 39). However, it was reiterated that the twelve āvāz comprised five basic scales: Shur, Segāh, Chahārgāh, Homāyun, and Māhur (Safvate and Caron 1966, 40). Safvate attributed the classification of the twelve āvāz into seven dastgāh and five āvāz to the late nineteenth century, and he claimed that great masters, including Mirza Abdollah and his brother Hoseyn-Qoli agreed with this classification (Safvate and Caron 1966,

[1] "Sa musique compte douze systèmes modaux essentiels, les douze *Avâz*, répartis en sept systèmes principaux, les *Dastgâh*-s (qui comprennent les cinq échelles de base) et cinq systèmes dérivés, qui gardent le seul nom d*'Avâz*. Un *Avâz* - ou un *Dastgâh* - se compose d'un nombre variable de séquences mélodiques plus ou moins brèves, les *Gushé*-s, qui se succèdent dans un certain ordre appelé le *Radif*."

[2] "*Chacune des douze divisions, ou systèmes*, de la musique iranienne."

40). However, he failed to provide any sources to support that claim, which is most probably because he relied on oral knowledge that he had learned from his masters.

While Safvate was influenced by the theory that Vaziri and his followers had developed, he tried to reject it for being contradictory to the practice of music he had learned. For example, he repeated Vaziri's interpretation in considering Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh as part of Shur and Māhur, respectively, and in considering Chahārgāh the most distinctive Persian mode because it has two identical tetrachords and two leading-tones. However, he also argued that Shur was the most distinctive Persian mode and thus, considering Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh as parts of Shur and Māhur did not comply with musical practice (Safvate and Caron 1966, 40–41). Safvate provided various definitions of both āvāz and dastgāh (Safvate and Caron 1966, 49–51); however, the confusion over the respective identities of āvāz versus dastgāh remained. Safvate complicated things even more when he added other concepts such Shah-gusheh (principal gusheh) and used the term āvāz to refer to pieces he had previously considered gusheh, such as Āvāz Erāq (Safvate and Caron 1966, 104–5, 112). This confusion made Safvate's interpretations difficult to understand, particularly for non-Iranians who were unacquainted with Iranian music as it would be performed. Nevertheless, Safvate used āvāz as a general term to refer to various modes (Safvate and Caron 1966, 17, 29, 31, 39–50, 53, 56, 59, 62,65, 67, 70, 71, 73, 74, 88, 90, 102, 104, 105, 109–16, 128-9,148, 156–57, 166, 185, 187, 191–92, 220).

In 1967, Eckart Wilkens (b. 1942), another student of Marius Schneider at the University of Cologne published his dissertation on two santur players, and as one might expect, the theoretical discussions on the modal system were based on Khatschi Khatschi's book (Wilkens 1967). A year later, another Iranian student, Mohammad-Taghi Massoudieh (1927–1999), published a PhD dissertation, which was also produced at the University of Cologne under the supervision of Marius Schneider. Massoudieh cited Khatschi when he listed various versions of the number of gusheh of dastgāh Shur (Massoudieh 1968, 19). He used the dominant tradition of the seven dastgāh and five āvāz, which had been published in Iran a few years before (Marufi 1963), and he did not refer to Khatschi's concept of the twelve dastgāh, suggesting that Massoudieh was unconvinced by Khatschi's methodology and conclusions.

In 1972, Bruno Nettl published his first book on Persian music. Nettl had recorded and analyzed over forty performances of the entry piece (Darāmad) of dastgāh Chahārgāh (Nettl 1972, 11). He chose the simpler interpretation of the twelve dastgāh, which was invented by Khatschi and adopted by Farhat over the dominant tradition of the seven dastgāh (Nettl 1972, 14), perhaps because the latter was more complicated to understand and explain. Among the sources that Nettl cited in his introduction (Nettl 1972, 11), Khatschi theorized the twelve dastgāh, which Gerson-Kiwi, Zonis, Farhat, and Wilkens followed. Safvate mentioned twelve āvāz, which were classified as seven dastgāh and five āvāz, and only Massoudieh followed the dominant tradition of the seven dastgāh. Perhaps Nettl not only had sufficient reasons to follow the crowd, but also considered that because Khatschi, the theoretician of the concept, and his influential follower, Farhat, were both Iranians, it could be assumed that they had insider knowledge about the music of their native culture, even though they were actually trained in European music. While Nettl followed Khatschi's system of the twelve dastgāh, the then recently published transcription of the radif with an introduction by Barkechli was based on the system of seven dastgāh (Marufi 1963), and it was included in Nettl's bibliography (Nettl 1972, 40).

Ella Zonis published her research as a book in 1973, with the same level of ambiguity that was contained in her article and liner notes. In the second chapter focusing on "The Theory of Persian Art Music," Zonis stated that Persian art music was based on the twelve-mode system called dastgāh, and it included seven main dastgāh alongside five smaller systems, which were considered auxiliary dastgāh, also known by the terms āvāz or naghmeh (Zonis 1973, 44). However, the four "naghmeh" of Shur, i.e., Abu-Atā, Dashti, Afshāri, and Bayāt Tork, were included in the explanation of dastgāh Shur, and "naghmeh" Bayāt Esfahān was included in dastgāh Homāyun (Zonis 1973, 70–82, 86–88). Thus, Zonis complied with the traditional system of seven dastgāh, while providing an explanation of the modal characteristics of the radif.

In 1973, Hormoz Farhat published a short book, and Mehdi Barkechli and Mohammad-Taghi Massoudieh produced book sections in separate volumes (Barkechli 1973; Farhat 1973; Massoudieh 1973). None of the authors' understanding of the mode classification appeared to have deepened; Barkechli repeated the traditional system of seven dastgāh, Farhat repeated the system of the twelve dastgāh, and Massoudieh came closer to the traditional versions by translating parts

of an original narration by Mohammad-Nasir Forsat (Barkechli 1973, 80–83; Farhat 1973, 10–17; Massoudieh 1973, 81–84).

Inside Iran, the traditional system of seven dastgāh with five āvāz was securely established after Nur-Ali Borumand (1905–1977) became active in publicly promoting his narration of radif, which he had learned from Mirza Abdollah's pupil. Borumand started teaching his knowledge of radif at the University of Tehran in 1965. In the mid-1970s, he also taught at the Center for the Preservation of Iranian Traditional Music, where several Iranian musicians and a few non-Iranian ethnomusicologists practiced radif with him. According to Nettl, he was "one of the foremost authorities on the performance and history of Persian classical music in the 20th century" (Nettl 1989). Meanwhile, outside Iran, the system of the twelve dastgāh dominated the field of ethnomusicology. Hormoz Farhat followed Khatschi Khatschi's incorrect conclusions, and although the seven dastgāh system was the dominant tradition inside Iran, and Nur-Ali Borumand strongly promoted a strict version of radif, Ella Zonis and Bruno Nettl followed the simpler version of the twelve dastgāh system, which was introduced by two other Iranian musicologists; although Nettl studied Persian music with Borumand in Tehran and considered him as his "main teacher and mentor in Persian music" (Nettl 1972). Moreover, in 1967 he invited Borumand to teach at University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign, as Visiting Professor of music (Nettl 1974, 170). Perhaps Zonis and Nettl wanted to avoid controversy over the number of dastgāh, it was not crucial for their research to investigate that problem, or it sufficiently resembled in their eyes the system of the seven dastgāh and the five āvāz, which had reached considerable status during the first decades of the twentieth century. Notwithstanding, the two pioneer American ethnomusicologists, who had studied Persian music in the 1960s, adopted the system of the twelve dastgāh, and this interpretation became established as the dominant interpretation of the Persian modal system, appearing in encyclopedias such as *Grove Music Online* (Lawergren, Farhat, and Blum 2015). While musicians inside Iran learned and played a system of seven dastgāh, musicologists and ethnomusicologists outside Iran studied the twelve dastgāh system.

Conclusion to Part I

Part I shows how the system of the twelve dastgāh emerged as the dominant interpretation of the Persian modal system in the current literature of musicology and ethnomusicology. It also shows how Persian musicologists, who were initially trained in European music, defined a modal system for Persian music and applied European music theory to the Persian music system.

The earliest known account of the dastgāh in a European language was published in 1900. Three piano scores entitled *Dèst-gâh-é Homâyoûn, Avâz Mâhoûr*, and *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans* featured transcriptions of improvisations of the Persian modes accompanied by rhythmic pieces. Although those piano scores were published by French musician, Alfred Lemaire, who served the Persian court as the organizer of the military bands, it was a Persian pianist who prepared those transcriptions. However, Alfred Lemaire added a note to *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans* stating that all Persian āvāz were performed in six dastgāh, each of which had a different scale. By explaining the Persian music through a system based on six dastgāh with six different scales, Lemaire started a tradition of considering the dastgāh set as the modes of Persian Music.

When Ali-Naqi Vaziri published his first book in 1923, he followed Lemaire and considered scales for the dastgāh; however, he distinguished only four scales; whereas, his dedicated follower and student, Ruhollah Khaleqi, recognized five independent dastgāh based on the different scales. Vaziri eventually relinquished his system of four dastgāh and followed the traditional version of the seven dastgāh in his books on music theory published in 1935. From the 1950s, several Iranian students produced dissertations on Persian music in Europe, following one of the two approaches, i.e., the traditional seven dastgāh or the distinguishable dastgāh with different scales.

In his PhD dissertation, Zaven Hacobian mentioned several interpretations of the Persian modal system, including the traditional set of the seven dastgāh and Khaleqi's interpretation of the five dastgāh with different scales. He also mentioned dastgāh Shur, which included Abu-Atā, Bayāt Tork, Dashti, Afshāri, dastgāh Māhur, dastgāh Homāyun, dastgāh Segāh, and dastgāh Chahārgāh and the two dastgāh of Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh as parts of dastgāh Shur and dastgāh

Māhur, respectively; however, he only mentioned them sporadically and not as a defined and generally accepted modal system. Zaven Hacobian also stated that some the modes had been developed as new dastgāh, and he introduced Vaziri's terms for explaining the function of the essential degrees of the scales, namely *shāhed* (witness, evidence, indicant), *ist* (stop, halt, pause), and *motaghayyer* (variable, changeable, alterable). Parviz Mahmoud later mentioned the seven dastgāh system in a dissertation on musicology at Indiana University, although it failed to attract the attention of musicologists.

In 1960, Mehdi Barkechli published a book chapter in France in *Encyclopédie de la Pléiade* in which he repeated his account of the seven dastgāh from his first publication; however, he introduced a fixed number of the secondary dastgāh: (1) Abu-Atā, (2) Bayāt Tork, (3) Afshār, (4) Dashti, and (5) Bayat Esfahān. Those five modes were among the popular modes that were recorded most often during the recording sessions from 1909 to 1933. Barkechli followed Vaziri and used the term naghmeh to refer to these newly developed mode collections. The pattern of seven dastgāh and five sub-dastgāh was followed by Hormoz Farhat in his first publication in English in 1960; however, Farhat stated that only six of the seven dastgāh and three of the five sub-dastgāh could generate different scales.

By no means were the five sub-dastgāh established categories when they first emerged as a fixed set of five, and differences in various narrations still exist today. For instance, Abdollah Davāmi narrated a version of the radif which included Gilaki and Ghamangiz in Dashti, and he included Qatār in Bayāt Tork and Qarā'i in Afshāri (Payvar 1996, 60, 66–67, 77). However, in the radif narrated by Nur-Ali Borumand, Gilaki and Ghamangiz are included in Abu-Atā, and Qatār and Qarā'i are included in Bayāt Kord (During 1992, 129–31, 161–63). Notably, the instrumental radif narrated by Ali-Akbar Shahnazi presented both Qatār and Qarā'i as independent sub-dastgāh of dastgāh Shur, and Bayāt Esfahān was also considered a part of dastgāh Shur (Vohdani 1997, 83–92, 104, 133–45); however, almost all other versions consider Bayāt Esfahān a part of dastgāh Homāyun.

Khatschi Khatschi's doctoral dissertation published in 1962 presented arguments for establishing a system of twelve dastgāh. However, his main source, a short account by Bahā-od-Din Bāmshād, contained several errors and inconsistencies. Bāmshād, a mediocre musician from

Vaziri's new school of music, presented a distorted version of how Mirza Abdollah learned eight, instead of five, dastgāh and managed to learn the other two dastgāh of Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh from his uncle, instead of his cousin, by listening while hiding behind doors.

Not only did Khatschi fail to assess the credibility of his sources, but he also made several methodological errors in using sources and in building his arguments. He thus based his conclusion of a set of twelve dastgāh on a distorted story of a set of ten dastgāh. Nonetheless, his suggested system of twelve dastgāh was adopted by writers such as Hormoz Farhat and Bruno Nettl and became the dominant interpretation of the modal system of Persian music in ethnomusicology literature in English.

As Part I shows, the current interpretation of the Persian modal system was not defined by traditional Persian musicians but was rather developed by a group of Persian musicians who were acquainted with European music theory. These musicians were also able to present their works in European languages. The dominant interpretation of the Persian modal system is based on the system of the twelve dastgāh, which was a redefined version of the system of the seven dastgāh and five sub-dastgāh, and which in turn, was a fixed version of the system of the seven dastgāh and a few āvāz.

Perhaps the necessity to distinguish between the traditional knowledge and the Europeanized versions of it had not arisen when pioneer ethnomusicologists started studying Persian music, particularly because the Europeanized Persian musicians dominated schools and organizations, and they could communicate or write in French, English, or German. Thus, the musicological and ethnomusicological literature on Persian music was established by native Persian musicians who were trained in European music, and the musicologists and ethnomusicologists accepted them as indigenous sources because no authentic traditional musician or musical text was available at that time.

Part II shows how the concept of dastgāh emerged in its native context and discusses how it came to be fixed as a set of seven dastgāh in the late nineteenth century.

Part II: Historical Survey on the Mode Classifications in Persia

Introduction to Part II

The three chapters in this part are dedicated to the history of mode classification in Persian music, from the earliest available account of a set of modes to the establishment of a set of dastgāh at the end of the nineteenth century. Chapter 4 starts with the set of seven modes attributed to Bārbad, the legendary court musician of Khosraw II Parviz (r. 590–628). Not only is it the earliest account of a mode set in Persian music, but it is also the earliest documented association between the cosmological numbers and musical knowledge in Persia. The cosmological significance of the number seven reappeared in Persian music in the early twentieth century, when the set of the seven dastgāh was established. The second section of Chapter 4 focuses on the modal system of Persian music from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, which was based on a set of twelve *dawr* or maqam with a set of six āvāz, or āvāzeh. This modal system was first written down by Safi-od-Din Ormavi (d. 1294) and developed by Qotb-od-Din Shirazi (1236–1311), who introduced a third set of modes called sho'beh (literarily meaning branch), and Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi (d. 1435), who described and established a set of twenty-four sho'beh. Authors of the musical texts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries borrowed the systems of six āvāz, twelve maqam, and twenty-four sho'beh, and they added a set of forty-eight gusheh. These authors also developed a binary relation between a certain mode from a smaller set of modes with two modes of the bigger set, suggesting that two maqam were derived from each āvāz, two sho'beh were derived from each maqam, and two gusheh were derived from each sho'beh. The third section of Chapter 4 discusses that binary relation and argues that it was more symbolic than structural.

Chapter 5 discusses the emergence of the dastgāh as a multimodal performance suite. The chapter starts with Safi-od-Din Ormavi's discourse on the shared notes between the modes; however, it was actually Qotb-od-Din Shirazi who recorded in writing the earliest account of modulation in practice as a table of proximity between the modes. Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi extended Shirazi's concept and provided for each of the twelve maqam a list of modes to which modulations were possible. During the sixteenth century, a set of four to five modulation instructions entered Persian musical writings, which provided a list of modes that could be performed around a central mode. The concept of modulation instructions was developed in the seventeenth century to

incorporate more modes and include a sequence for performing the modes. These instructions were renamed shad. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the concept of shad was developed further to incorporate more modes and renamed dastgāh.

Chapter 6 discusses the establishment of the dastgāh system. The beginning of the chapter is a brief account of the power struggle in Persia in the eighteenth century when the dynasties of the Safavids, the Afshārids, the Zands, and the Qājārs ruled Persia one after another, while various parts of the country were engaged in frequent revolts against the dominant ruler. The following section presents two accounts of two sets of four dastgāh, which could be considered early descriptions of the dastgāh system since a set of four dastgāh matches the common version of the set of four shad. The third section of Chapter 6 deals with a very significant account of a set of twelve dastgāh. This account could be considered the immediate predecessor of the contemporary set of the seven dastgāh because all seven contemporary dastgāh were mentioned among the twelve dastgāh. In addition, evidence suggests that Āqā Mohammad-Reza, who was admired for having a deep knowledge of the twelve dastgāh system, was the uncle of Mirza Abdollah, the celebrated source of the seven dastgāh system. The fourth section of Chapter 6 presents another account of a set of twelve mode-collections entitled "Twelve Dastgāh," and the final section of Part II presents mode names as they appeared in two song-text collections from the nineteenth century.

Part II shows how the dastgāh concept emerged in its native context as a result of practicing multimodal performances, and it provides evidence of the earliest systems of Persian music followed by accounts on modulation that evolved into a set of four modulation instructions. Subsequently, an advised order, named the four shad, was added to the set of modulation instructions. The shad, which evolved into a set of twelve dastgāh, was renamed dastgāh and later evolved into the modern system comprising seven dastgāh.

Chapter 4: Classification of Persian Modes Prior to the Dastgāh System

The Modal System in Pre-Islamic Persia

The earliest system of the modes in Persia were attributed to Bārbad, who was the legendary court musician of Khosraw II Parviz (r. 590–628), the last great king of the Sasanian Dynasty (224–651 AD). Bārbad employed a system of seven tunes known as "Rāh-hā-ye Khosrawāni" (literally "Royal Passages") named after his patron Khosraw. Three centuries after the death of Khosraw Parviz, "Rāh-e Khosrawāni" was first mentioned in a historical text compiled in Arabic by Ali al-Mas'udi (d. 956), an Arab historian and geographer. To refer to the seven Rāh-e Khosrawāni, al-Mas'udi adopted the Arabic term "*al-Toruq al-Molukiyyah*," which was a literal translation of Rāh-hā-ye Khosrawāni. In the section of the text on Persian music, al-Mas'udi spoke about the origin of musical instruments such as the oud, tanbur, ney, and daf, and mentioned the seven Royal Passages.

As early Arabic manuscripts were neither dotted nor vocalized, a certain word could be read in many ways. For instance, the combination of سىر could be read as sheyr (lion), shir (milk), shotor (camel), sir (garlic), or sabz (green). Moreover, it is possible that the words were distorted in the copyists' exemplar, and that the copyist edited the exemplar for whatever reason. Thus, subsequent copyists could have drawn unfamiliar Persian terms, including obsolete names of the seven Rāh-e Khosrawāni, without being able to read them.

The nineteenth-century editors of al-Mas'udi's text mentioned the difficult task of reading the modes because the text challenged the readers with obscure words that were hardly legible (al-Mas'udi 1874, 8:90, 417–18). The Danish orientalist and scholar of Iranian philology and folklore, Arthur Emanuel Christensen (1875–1945), who authored an article on the pre-Islamic Persian modes, was unable to provide a conclusive list of the seven Rāh-e Khosrawāni. His list included the following modes: 1. Sekāf, 2. [missing], 3. [missing], 4. Mādhārusnān, 5. Shāygān, 6. Shishom,

and 7. [illegible] (Christensen 1918b, 371). In a more recent attempt, Ghitās Abd-ul-Malik, an Arab scholar who prepared a fresh edition of al-Mas‘udi’s account of music, presented the following list: 1. Segāne, 2. Nowbahār, 3. Amrsah, 4. Mādārustān, 5. Sāykār, 6. Sisom, and 7. Hovayrān (Ibn Salmah 1984, 37–38). A critical combination of the various interpretations might make better sense; however, the names of the seven Rāh-e Khosrawāni remain open to further interpretation. The first Rāh, for instance, might be read as Segāh, which subsequently appeared as a mode in Persian musical texts (*e.g.*, Q.-D. Shirazi 1306, fol. 197r); however, it might be also read as Yegāh, which conforms to the literary meaning of the first step or position.

As a musical term, Rāh-e Khosrawāni appeared in both verse and prose texts of Persian classical literature. Thus, Persian poet Mas‘ud Sa‘d Salmān (d. 1121–2) addressed the cupbearer as follows: “Oh! Cupbearer! Pick the Khosrawāni (Royal) cups! // As the musician picked the Rāh-hā-ye Khosrawāni” (Sa‘d Salman 1939, 75).[1] In addition, an anonymous author of a Persian historical text that is believed to have been copied in the fourteenth century mentioned “Tariq-e (Arabic equivalent of Rāh) Khosrawāni” while speaking about the emergence of Persian poetry: “And he [the ninth-century Persian poet, Mohammad Vasif] was the first among the Persians who recited Persian poems, and no one had recited before him; since there were Persians, poetry among them was reciting accompanied on *rud* [string instrument] in the style of the Tariq-e Khosrawāni” (Bahar 1935, 210).[2]

However, the lack of available information makes it difficult to conclude whether the combined words “Rāh-e Khosrawāni” or either of the two words “Rāh” and “Khosrawāni” referred to a mode or tune. Rāh literally means way, path, or passage,[3] and it was translated to mean “a musical tone” (Johnson 1852, 606). Rāh was usually paired with Dastān, another musical term that was translated as “a key, pin, or peg, of a musical instrument” and “song, melody”; hence, the nightingale was named Hazār-dastān (Johnson 1852, 569), a bird who sings a thousand (Hazār) tunes. Perhaps Rāh and Dastān were two corresponding terms for a musical performance: instrumental versus vocal, non-rhythmic versus rhythmic, and so forth. Regardless, an eleventh-

[1] «جام‌های خسروانی ساقیا برگیر هین زان‌که مطرب راه‌های خسروانی برگرفت»

[2] «و اوّل شعر پارسی اندر عجم او گفت، پیش ازو کسی نگفته بود، که تا پارسیان بودند، سخن پیش ایشان به رود باز گفتندی برطریق خسروانی.»

[3] Since Persian and Sanskrit are from the same family of Indo-European languages, one may immediately think about a possible relation between Rāh and Rāg, the Sanskrit term for modes in Indian music. This speculation deserves etymological research.

century writer advised his son to perform Dastān-e Khosrawāni at the assembly of a king (Voshmgir 1967, 193). Khosrawāni could also function as a term that refers to modes or that modifies Rāh, attributing it to King Khosraw. Scholars of Persian classical literature generally consider Khosrawāni by Bārbad to be the earliest documented form of Persian poetry (Shafiei Kadkani 1963); however, the three surviving verses attributed to Bārbad in the shortened version of *The Music and the Musical Instruments* were not mentioned under the specific title of Khosrawāni, but simply as a "song" (Arabic: *sawt*). The original Arabic text states, "What he sang […] was seventy five *sawt* (song)" [1] (Ebn Khordādbeh 1961, 16).

A system of seven primary modes in Persian music reappeared in the thirteenth century in a book on astronomical divination by Ali-Shah Bokhāri (b. ca. 1226), *Ashjār va Asmār*. Bokhāri asserted that there were seven primary modes, which each generated a derivative mode (A.-S. Bokhāri 1289, 258).[2] Although Bokhāri did not refer to Bārbad, the legend of Bārbad was mentioned in a book by Mohammad Nishāburi, another author from the thirteenth century (Nishāburi 1265). Nishāburi wrote one of the two earliest accounts on the system of the twelve primary and six secondary modes, adding that "all that Bārbad tuned and played was not more than seven pardeh, according to the seven planets. When it was Sa'idi's turn, he extended the pardeh to twelve, at the service of Shah Sherveh, and Sa'idi was Bārbad's apprentice"[3] (Nishāburi 1265, fol. 27v).

Nishāburi's story was rather a myth than reality, but it is noteworthy that the legend of Bārbad and his seven modes survived in the oral tradition of musicians for more than six hundred years. Nishāburi added that it was Sa'idi, an apprentice of Bārbad, who extended the set of seven pardeh to a set of twelve pardeh. It is almost impossible to investigate how, when, and by whom a set of twelve modes was introduced for the first time. However, it seems that the name Sa'idi in the second part of the story is a distorted version of Soghdi,[4] and it refers to another legendary

[1] «و كان ما غنّاه [...] خمسة و سبعون صوتاً»

[2] For a printed version of this text see: (Tafazzoli Shadpour 2013).

[3] «هر چه بارید بساخت و بزد هفت پرده بیش نبود، موافق هفت کوکب، چون سعیدی فرا رسید، پرده به دوازده رسانید، در خدمت شاه شروه، و او شاگرد بارید بود.»

[4] The name Soghdi (سغدی) could be easily distorted into Sa'di (سعدی) because old Arabic manuscripts were not dotted, and it could be distorted to Sa'idi (سعیدی) by adding a notch.

musician from the early tenth century, Ebn Ahvas Soghdi from Sogdiana. Ebn Ahvas Soghdi was mentioned by contemporary author Mohammad Fārābi (872–950) as the one who invented a musical instrument with the widest range, named Shah-rud [1] (Fārābi 1461, fol. 17r).[2] After three centuries, Soghdi had become a mythical musician; thus, the oral knowledge stated that he was Bārbad's apprentice. Shah Sherveh refers to Shiruyeh, or Kavād II (d. 628), whose kingdom lasted less than a year. Shiruyeh was the son and successor of the aforementioned Khosraw II Parviz. Since the oral myth stated that Soghdi was Bārbad's apprentice, Soghdi's patron was introduced as Shiruyeh, the son and successor of Bārbad's patron, Khosraw II Parviz.

Bārbad and his set of seven modes were mentioned in early historical texts in Arabic, and they survived as oral myth among the Persian musicians. Hence, it is plausible that a real music system existed from which the historical texts and oral myth originated. Unfortunately, the available sources fail to provide any additional information on Bārbad's set, and it is almost impossible to know more about the music system in pre-Islamic Persia.

The celebrated Persian poet, Elyās Yusof Nezāmi Ganjavi (d. 1209),[3] authored the love story of King Khosraw II Parviz, Bārbad's patron, and his beloved wife Shirin. Nezāmi paints a portrait of a banquet in which Bārbad performed thirty of his hundred *lahn* (tunes) for Khosraw Parviz (Nezāmi Ganjavi 1960, 331–35). Bārbad's thirty tunes have been mentioned in various sources including literature in the field of Orientalism (Christensen 1907, 106); however, I consider it poetical imagination rather than historical description. The concept of the thirty tunes by Bārbad did not appear in earlier sources and only appeared in subsequent sources in reference to Nezāmi's poetry.

[1] According to Mohammad Rāzi, the Persian scholar of poetry from the early thirteenth century, Ebn Ahvas Soghdi was also a poet, and it was Ebn Ahvas who recited the first poems in Persian (Rāzi 1935, 150–51).

[2] For a printed version of this text see: (Fārābi 1998).

[3] For a short biography see ("Nezāmi" 2016)

Modal Classification from the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Centuries

During the seventh century, Arab Muslim troops overthrew the Persian kingdom and seized the land of Persia. The aftermath of the Arab Muslim conquest for Persia was a long interruption in producing knowledge, science, and the arts. Persian knowledge needed to be absorbed into the emerging Arab Muslim civilization. Once the Arab Muslim Caliphate was established, scholars started translating Persian, Assyrian, Indian, and especially Greek knowledge, thus resulting in the establishment of the Islamic golden age (from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries). Among the translated books were some musical texts that influenced early Arabic writings on music, notably the works of Ya'qub al-Kindi (801–873). The following successors such as Mohammad Fārābi (872–950) developed the borrowed Greek musical discourses into a theoretical science based on the pure sciences including philosophy, mathematics, physics, and geometry. They also attempted to apply the theoretical discourses to the practice of music in their society. However, no modal system was explained in the musical literature.

Many modes were mentioned in the Persian literature between the ninth and twelfth centuries. For instance, in the second half of the eleventh century, Kaykāvus Voshmgir compiled essays on proper behavior for his heir, dedicating one chapter to "The Manners of Minstrelsy." In this chapter, he provided his son with manners of musicianship including performing modes: "You first chant a bit in pardeh [mode] of Rāst and then conform to the ideals of minstrelsy according to every pardeh, such as the pardeh of Mādeh [Māyeh], the pardeh of Erāq, the pardeh of Oshshāq, the pardeh of Zirafkand, the pardeh of Busalik, the pardeh of Sepāhān, the pardeh of Navā, the pardeh of Gozāshteh [Gavāshteh, Mss. Basteh], and the pardeh of Rāhavi." (Voshmgir 1967, 196).[1] While other texts could provide a few other modes that were not mentioned by Voshmgir, none of these accounts mentioned a modal system.

By the end of the twelfth century, the modal system of the seven modes, which was attributed to Bārbad, had been seemingly replaced by an extended and altered system in which

[1] «نخست بر پردهٔ راست چیزی بگوی پس بر رسم [بر] هر پرده ای چون پردهٔ ماده و پردهٔ عراق و پردهٔ عشاق و پردهٔ زیرافکند و پردهٔ بوسلیک و پردهٔ سپاهان و پردهٔ نوا و پردهٔ گذاشته و پردهٔ راهوی و شرط مطربی به جای آر.»

eighteen modes were arranged into two groups of twelve primary and six secondary modes. The new system was first mentioned in two texts by Nishāburi and Ormavi in the thirteenth century (Nishāburi 1265; Ormavi n.d.). A comparison of the names of the modes[1] used in the two versions by Nishāburi and Ormavi shows that they share eight of the twelve primary modes but contain four different modes; the six secondary or derivative modes are entirely different. They also have substantially different relations between their primary and secondary modes. Ormavi did not construct any relation between the primary and the secondary modes; but, according to Nishāburi, each of the six secondary modes derived from a pair of the twelve primary modes.

The celebrated musician and calligrapher, Safi-od-Din Ormavi (d. 1294), authored two seminal books on music. In his first and concise book, *Ketāb-ol-Advār* (*The Book of the Cycles*), he presented a modal system of twelve primary modes and six secondary modes. The twelve primary modes, or *dawr* (cycles), as he called them, were Oshshāq, Navā, Busalik, Rāst, Erāq, Esfahān, Zirafkand, Bozorg, Zanguleh, Rāhavi, Hoseyni, Hejāzi; his six secondary modes, or Āvāzeh or Āvāz, as he called them, were Gavāsht, Gardāniā, Salmak, Nowruz, Māyeh, Shahnāz (Ormavi n.d., fol. 7v–8r). According to Mohammad Nishāburi, the modal system of Persian music consisted of twelve pardeh or primary modes: Rāst, Mokhālef-e Rāst, Erāq, Mokhālefak, Hoseyni, Rāhavi, Esfahān, Mādeh, Busalak, Navā, Nahāvand, Oshshāq; he also named six derivative modes or sho'beh: Zirkash derived from Hoseyni and Mādeh, Basteh derived from Mokhālefak and Rāhavi, Ozzāl derived from Navā and Oshshāq, Negārin derived from Busalak and Esfahān, Hejāz derived from Erāq and Nahāvand, and Sepehri derived from Rāst and Mokhālef-e Rāst (Nishāburi 1265, fol. 27v). However, some modes were left out of the two sets: "the higher range of Sepehri is called Sāzgāri, and it is Zirafkandeh-ye Bozorg. It is not one of the twelve pardeh, and it is not one of the sho'beh."[2] Salmak, Nishāburah, and Majles-Afruz were also mentioned in Nishāburi's text (Nishāburi 1265, fol. 27v–28r).

[1] It is possible to compare names of the modes because Nishāburi provided a list of names and Ormavi explained a *dawr* (cycle, scale) for each mode.

[۲] «و تیزی سپهری را سازگاری خوانند، و آن زیرافکندهٔ بزرگ است، از دوازده پرده نیست و از شعبه‌ها نیست.»

Table 1: Shared modes, Nishāburi and Ormavi

Shared	Nishāburi Primary	Ormavi Primary	Nishāburi Derivative	Ormavi Secondary	Nishāburi Extra modes
1	Rāst	Rāst			
2	Navā	Navā			
3	Rāhavi	Rāhavi			
4	Esfahān	Esfahān			
5	Hoseyni	Hoseyni			
6	Erāq	Erāq			
7	Busalak	Busalik			
8	Oshshāq	Oshshāq			
9	Mādeh			Māyeh	
10		Hejāzi	Hejāz		
11		Zirafkand			Zirafkand-e Bozorg
12				Salmak	Salmak
	Mokhālef-e Rāst				
	Mokhālefak				
	Nahāvand				
		Bozorg			
		Zanguleh			
			Zirkash		
			Basteh		
			Ozzāl		
			Negārin		
			Sepehri		
				Gavāsht	
				Gardāniā	
				Nowruz	
				Shahnāz	
					Sāzgāri
					Majles-Afruz
					Nishāburah

One of Ormavi's contemporaries, astronomer Ali-Shah Bokhāri (b. *ca.* 1226), authored a book on astronomical divination and mentioned Nishāburi and Ormavi in the section on music (A.-S. Bokhāri 1289, 258). Bokhāri outlined the modal classification as a set of seven primary modes and a set of secondary modes, and he considered the derivational relationships between the two sets:

> There are seven primary pardeh [modes] and from each, a secondary one is derived, making a total of fourteen [pardeh]. The mother of all the pardeh is pardeh Rāst, and each pardeh is related to a planet: pardeh Navā is related to Saturn and pardeh Hoseyni is descended from it, pardeh Busalik is related to Jupiter and pardeh Gozāshteh is descended from it, pardeh Rāst is related to Mars and pardeh Oshshāq is descended from it, pardeh Erāq is related to the Sun and pardeh Esfahān is descended from it, pardeh Negārin is related to Venus and pardeh Zirafkandeh-ye Bozorg is descended from it, pardeh Zirafkandeh-ye Khord is related to Mercury and pardeh Nahāvand is descended from it, and pardeh Rāhavi is related to the moon and pardeh Basteh is descended from it. (A.-S. Bokhāri 1289, 258)[1]

Ormavi's version, which ultimately attracted the full attention of later musicians, became the base from which a more comprehensive modal system was developed.

The following text on music, *Dora-to-Tāj*, was authored by—or compiled under the supervision of—the Persian polymath, Qotb-od-Din Shirazi (1236–1311). It was mainly a translation and commentary on Ormavi's second text, *Resālah ash-Sharafiyyah*; however, Shirazi borrowed Nishāburi's term, sho'beh, for the derivative modes. Shirazi did not utilize sho'beh to refer to the six secondary modes and instead used it to include nine supplementary modes that were seemingly left out by Ormavi: Dogāh, Segāh, Chahārgāh, Panjgāh, Zāvoli, Ruy-e Erāq, Mobarqa, Māyeh, Shahnāz (Q.-D. Shirazi 1306, fol. 197r). Shirazi's last two sho'beh had been originally classified as āvāz by Ormavi; however, Shirazi interchanged the two āvāz with two of

[1] «اصل پرده‌ها هفت است و از هر یکی فرعی تخریج کرده‌اند؛ مبلغ چهارده باشد؛ و امّ همهٔ پرده ها پردهٔ راست است؛ و هر پرده‌ای را نسبتی است با کوکبی؛ چنان‌که پردهٔ نوا منسوبست بەزحل و پردهٔ حسینی زایدهٔ اوست، و پردهٔ بوسلیک منسوبست بەمشتری، و پردهٔ گذاشته زایدهٔ اوست، و پردهٔ راست منسوبست بەمرّیخ و پردهٔ عشّاق زایدهٔ اوست، و پردهٔ عراق منسوبست بەآفتاب و پردهٔ اصفهان زایدهٔ اوست، و پردهٔ نگارین منسوبست بەزهره و زیرافکندهٔ بزرک زایدهٔ اوست، و پردهٔ زیرافکندهٔ خرد منسوبست بەعطارد و پردهٔ نهاوند زایدهٔ اوست، و پردهٔ راهوی منسوبست بەقمر و پردهٔ بسته زایدهٔ اوست.»

the sho'beh so that Mohayyer and Esfahānak were classified as āvāz instead (Q.-D. Shirazi 1306, fol. 196r). Shirazi's book also contained additional modes: Zirafkand-e Kuchak, Mokhālefak, Mokhālef (Mokhālef-e Rāst)[1], Zirkash-e Hoseyni, Hesār, Neyrizi, Ozzāl, Basteh, Kuchak, Nahāvand, Mohayyer-e Hoseyni, Mohayyer-e Zirkash, Nahoft-e Hejāz, Nahoft (Q.-D. Shirazi 1306, fol. 188r–195r), Rakbi, Homāyun, and Esfahānak (Q.-D. Shirazi 1306, fol. 198r).

Comparing all the modes mentioned in the four texts by Nishāburi, Ormavi, Bokhāri, and Shirazi could lead to the conclusion that the set of twelve primary and six secondary modes was a relatively new system, and to a large extent, a theoretical construct that may not correspond exactly to a system used in the practice of thirteenth-century Persian music. However, it is unclear why Ormavi only mentioned the twelve primary modes in his second text, *Resālah ash-Sharafiyyah*, and left out the six secondary modes (Ormavi 1268).[2] In addition, the two versions of the mode classification by Ormavi and Nishāburi do not fully correspond in terms of the modal terminology and the names of the modes.

It is difficult to trace the newly constructed systems and terminologies to a specific region or ethnicity. The three names Nishāburi, Ormavi, and Shirazi refer to three cities in Persia: Nishābur was located in the north-east, Shiraz was in the south, and Ormia was in the north-west. Nishāburi was an unknown writer. He was either a musician or had some musical knowledge, and he wrote a short account in Persian. By contrast, Ormavi was a renowned musician in Baghdād, who was a court musician for the Caliph, Al-Musta'sim (r. 1242–1258) and for the Persian Jovayni family who served the Il-khanid Mongol rulers in Baghdad after the fall of the Caliphate (Neubauer 2012). He wrote his books in Arabic, although it is unclear to what extent his books represent the musical tradition of Arab or Persian cities because his books contain several musical terms in Persian. Shirazi was a polymath, and his book, which was an encyclopedia in Persian, included knowledge of music (Wiedemann 2012). However, Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi stated that the chapter on music was compiled by Shirazi's students and not by Shirazi himself (A.-Q. Marāghi n.d., 114),[3] although Marāghi failed to provide any evidence to support this claim.

[1] Damat İbrahim Paşa Library, Istanbul, ms. 816, fol. 150r.

[2] For a printed version of this text see: (Ormavi 1984).

[3] For a printed version of this text see: (A.-Q. Marāghi 1991).

While Nishāburi used the old Persian term of pardeh for the primary modes and the new Arabic term of sho‘beh (literally meaning derivative) for his derivative modes, Ormavi had a new Arabic term of *dawr* (also *dā’erah* and *shad*) for the primary modes and used the old Persian term āvāzah (or āvāz) for the secondary modes; Ormavi also mentioned the Arabic terms *tarkib* and *morakkab* (literally meaning compound) to refer to compound modes (Ormavi n.d., fol. 8r). Shirazi used both pardeh and *dawr* for the primary modes, he used Ormavi’s term āvāz for the secondary modes, and he adopted Nishāburi’s term for the derivative modes (sho‘beh) to encompass additional modes; Ormavi’s term tarkib was also mentioned (Q.-D. Shirazi 1306, fol. 196r–196v). Shirazi also used a new word, maqam, as a general term for modes; maqam was later widely adopted to refer to the twelve primary modes. Shirazi stated: “The commonly known Maqāmāt, according to the utilization of the people [musicians] of the present time, is confined to pardeh-hā, sho‘ab, and tarākib, which were discussed” (Q.-D. Shirazi 1306, fol. 198r).[1]

The next author who produced a Persian text on music in the fourteenth century was Hasan Kāshi. He adopted Ormavi and Nishāburi’s terminologies equally to refer to the primary and secondary modes and used tarkib for the supplementary modes. After reciting a few verses to mention the twelve primary modes, Kāshi acknowledged Ormavi in the last verse as “the one who set it up like that” adding: “If there is any mistake, it is not ours”[2] (Kāshi 1435, fol. 166r).[3] The mistake came up later as, “There is controversy between Arabs and Persians about whether Hejāz is the primary pardeh or Māyeh, but since our master Safi-od-Din Abd-ol-Mo’men [Ormavi]—May God Illuminate His Grave—who got superiority over everybody in this craft [of music], set up Hejāz as pardeh [primary mode] and Māyeh as sho‘beh [derivative mode], his opinion is the right one” (Kāshi 1435, fol. 167r).[4] About one hundred years later, Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi objected to Shirazi’s interchange of the two āvāz with two of the sho‘beh, and he criticized Shirazi for confusing āvāz with sho‘beh (A.-Q. Marāghi 1418, fol. 40v–41r). Musicians’ debates over classifying a certain mode as primary or derivative clearly reflected the incompleteness and fluidity of the new modal system that was discussed by Ormavi and Nishāburi. Drawing a comparative

[1] «مقامات مشهور به حسب استعمال اهل این زمان درین پرده ها و شعب و تراکیب که مفصّل شد، منحصرست.»

[2] «عبدالمؤمن چنین نهاده است ایرادی اگر بود نه بر ماست»

[3] For a printed version of this text see: (Kāshi 1992).

[4] «در میان اهل عرب و عجم خلاف است که حجاز پردهٔ اصل است یا مایه. امّا چون مولانا صفی‌الدّین عبدالمؤمن – نوّر الله قبره – که اندرین فن بر همه غالب آمد، حجاز از پرده نهاده و مایه از شعبه، رای او صواب باشد.»

table of the modes that were mentioned by Nishāburi, Ormavi, Shirazi, and Bokhāri could provide a better understanding of the Persian modal system during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The names of the modes are listed regardless of their attribution to a set of primary, secondary, or supplementary modes.

Table 2 Table of the modes according to Nishāburi, Bokhāri, Shirazi, and Ormavi

The first column from the left indicates the number of sources that mentioned the mode.

	Nishāburi	Bokhāri	Shirazi	Ormavi
4	Rāst	Rāst	Rāst	Rāst
4	Navā	Navā	Navā	Navā
4	Rāhavi	Rāhavi	Rāhavi	Rāhavi
4	Esfahān	Esfahān	Esfahān	Esfahān
4	Hoseyni	Hoseyni	Hoseyni	Hoseyni
4	Erāq	Erāq	Erāq	Erāq
4	Busalak	Busalik	Busalik	Busalik
4	Oshshāq	Oshshāq	Oshshāq	Oshshāq
4	Mādeh	Mādeh	Māyeh	Māyeh
4	Hejāz	Hejāz	Hejāz	Hejāzi
4	Zirafkandeh-ye Bozorg	Zirafkandeh-ye Bozorg	Zirafkand	Zirafkand
3	Nahāvand	Nahāvand	Nahāvand	
3	Basteh	Basteh	Basteh	
3		Gozāshteh	Gavāsht	Gavāsht
3		Nowruzak	Nowruz	Nowruz
3	Mokhālef-e Rāst	Mokhālef	Mokhālef-e Rāst (Mokhālef)	
3	Salmak		Salmak	Salmak
2		Zirafkandeh-ye Khord	Zirafkand-e Kuchak	
2	Mokhālefak		Mokhālefak	
2	Sepehri	Sepehri		
2	Negārin	Negārin		
2	Sāzgāri	Sāzgari		
2	Ozzāl		Ozzāl	
2			Bozorg	Bozorg
2			Zanguleh	Zanguleh
2			Shahnāz	Shahnāz
2			Gardāniā	Gardānieh

1	Nishāburah			
1	Majles-Afruz			
1	Zirkash			
1			Kuchak	
1			Dogāh	
1			Segāh	
1			Chahārgāh	
1			Panjgāh	
1			Rakbi	
1			Homāyun	
1			Zāvoli	
1			Mobarqa	
1			Ruy-e Erāq	
1			Hesār	
1			Neyrizi	
1			Nahoft	
1			Nahoft-e Hejāz	
1			Mohayyer-e Hoseyni	
1			Mohayyer-e Zirkash	
1			Zirkash-e Hoseyni	
1			Esfahānak	

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Ormavi's version of the two sets of twelve primary modes and six secondary modes became the dominant modal system in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish musical texts (Wright 1978, passim). Nonetheless, sho'beh was subsequently fixed as the modal term for a third set of twenty-four modes; a term that was first used by Nishāburi to classify a set of six derivative modes and later adopted by Shirazi to encompass the modes that were left out. In the early fifteenth century, Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi named the set of the twenty-four sho'beh as follows: Dogāh, Segāh, Chahārgāh, Panjgāh, Nowruz-e Arab, Ashirā, Māhur, Nowruz-e Khārā, Hesār, Bayāti, Nahoft, Ozzāl, Owj, Neyriz, Mobarqa, Rakb, Sabā, Zāvoli, Homāyun, Esfahānak (Ruy-e Erāq), Basteh Negār, Nahāvand, Khuzi, and Mohayyer (A.-Q. Marāghi 1418, fol. 45v–48r). Among those twenty-four names, Nishāburi had formerly mentioned Nahāvand as a primary mode and Ozzāl, Basteh, and Negārin (cf. Marāghi's Basteh Negār) as derivative modes. In addition, Shirazi had previously named seven modes as sho'beh (Dogāh, Segāh, Chahārgāh, Panjgāh, Zāvoli, Ruy-e Erāq, Mobarqa), two modes as āvāz (Mohayyer and Esfahānak), and another eight modes with no modal classification: Hesār, Neyrizi, Ozzāl, Basteh, Nahāvand, Nahoft, Rakbi, Homāyun.

Long-term use of the system of the twelve primary and six secondary modes led musicians in the Middle East to believe that it was the perfect and true modal system for several centuries. The system was confirmed by the presumably accurate mathematical calculations for determining frets' positions on a monochord. However, contradictory versions were mentioned by Ormavi's contemporary writers, namely Nishāburi and Bokhāri, and even by Ormavi and his followers, including Shirazi, Kāshi, and Marāghi, which indicates that Ormavi's system was largely a symbolic classification that does not entirely correspond to or reflect the practice of music, even though it had been conventionally termed the Systematist School of Islamic music theory. Even Hubert Parry (1848–1918), whom Henry-George Farmer (1882–1965) quoted while using the term Systematist School (Farmer 1925, 79), stated the following about his understanding of the scale of Persian music: "Theoretically, this is the most perfect scale ever devised. Whether it really was used exactly in practice is another matter" (Parry 1893, 32).

Safavid Symbolic Classification from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries

According to Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi, the system of Persian music in the fifteenth-century texts was established as twelve primary, six secondary, and twenty-four supplementary modes (A.-Q. Marāghi 1418, fol. 37v–48r). This system, which was based on Ormavi's interpretation, had been developed by subsequent authors such as Shirazi and Marāghi, using Nishāburi's term sho'beh for the set of six derivative modes. Although Nishāburi had purposefully adopted the term sho'beh to record a set of the six derivative modes, Shirazi did not set any derivational relations between the modes classified as sho'beh with the twelve primary or six secondary modes. A derivational relation of a pair of sho'beh (supplementary modes) to a certain pardeh (primary mode) was first mentioned by Marāghi as a fairly new concept (A.-Q. Marāghi n.d., 197). Consequently, the complete set of twenty-four sho'beh obtained a fixed relation to the set of twelve pardeh in the sixteenth-century version. In addition, they found derivational relations to the pardeh in that one sho'beh derived from the lower range and another derived from the higher range of a certain pardeh. The following table shows the derivational relations between the twenty-four sho'beh and the twelve pardeh according to a sixteenth-century account (Kowkabi 1983, 18).

Table 3 Safavid derivational relation between pardeh and shoʿbeh

	Primary Mode (Pardeh)	Supplementary Mode (Shoʻbeh)	Range of the pardeh
1	Oshshāq	Zāvol	Lower range
		Owj	Higher range
2	Navā	Nowruz-e Khārā	Lower range
		Māhur	Higher range
3	Busalik	Ashirā	Lower range
		Nowruz-e Sabā	Higher range
4	Rāst	Mobarqa	Lower range
		Panjgāh	Higher range
5	Erāq	Ruy-e Erāq	Lower range?
		Maqlub	Higher range?
6	Esfahān	Neyriz	Lower range
		Neshāburak	Higher range
7	Zirafkan	Rakb	Lower range
		Bayāti	Higher range
8	Bozorg	Homāyun	Lower range
		Nahoft	Higher range
9	Zanguleh	Chahārgāh	Lower range
		Ozzāl	Higher range
10	Rahāvi	Nowruz-e Arab	Lower range
		Nowruz-e Ajam	Higher range
11	Hoseyni	Dogāh	Lower range
		Mohayyer	Higher range
12	Hejāz	Segāh	Lower range
		Hesār	Higher range

In addition to establishing the sho‘beh-pardeh relations, the Safavid musicians adopted Nishāburi’s account of six secondary modes deriving from twelve primary modes to relate to Ormavi’s sets of six secondary and twelve primary modes, even though such a relation was never mentioned by Ormavi or his followers (Shirazi, Kāshi, and Marāghi). Once again, the new concept of being derived from a lower or higher range of a certain mode was applied to the derivational relations; each secondary mode, āvāz, derived from a combination of the lower range of a certain primary mode, pardeh, with the higher range of another. It seems quite imaginative that a system of derivations could contain pardeh that only share their lower or higher range with the lower or higher range of another. Moreover, these derivational relations were borrowed from Nishāburi and applied to Ormavi’s two sets of primary and secondary modes; however, Nishāburi did not mention any lower or higher ranges. Nishāburi’s derivative modes were only mentioned occasionally and in part; for instance, three derivative modes of Sepehri, Bastar, and Negārinak were once mentioned among an additional set of six secondary modes (Anon. 3983 1792, fol. 3r), which resembled three of Nishāburi’s derivative modes: Sepehri, Basteh, and Negārin. Table 4 shows the derivational relations between the twelve primary and six secondary modes according to the previously mentioned account of the sixteenth century (Kowkabi 1983, 18).

Table 4 Safavid derivational relations between āvāz and pardeh

	Secondary Mode (Āvāz)	Primary Mode (Pardeh)	Range of the pardeh
1	Gardunieh	Rāst	Higher range
		Oshshāq	Lower range
2	Shahnāz	Rahāvi	Higher range
		Bozorg	Lower range
3	Gavasht	Navā	Higher range
		Hejāz	Lower range
4	Nowruz	Busalik	Higher range
		Hoseyni	Lower range
5	Salmak	Zanguleh	Higher range
		Esfahān	Lower range
6	Māyeh	Erāq	Higher range
		Zirafkan	Lower range

After fixing the sho'beh–pardeh relations and adopting the āvāz–pardeh relations, a new set of modes was introduced to encompass previously ignored or recently added modes. The term gusheh had been formerly used in the fifteenth century by Marāghi, who claimed it was equal to the terms pardeh, dawr, and maqam, used for the primary modes; however, he did not name any gusheh (A.-Q. Marāghi 1987, 127). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, gusheh was established as a third set of modes, which included forty-eight additional modes that had previously been excluded. Nevertheless, as the names of these forty-eight gusheh never became fixed, and a fixed derivational relation between the twenty-four sho'beh and forty-eight gusheh was never established, they did not become widely accepted. Although nearly all musical texts written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries listed the twenty-four sho'beh, along with the twelve pardeh and six āvāz, many of them lacked a section on gusheh, or they made only a vague mention of the term[1] (Qazvini n.d.; Ebn Safi-od-Din 1636, 126; Gorji, n.d., 93–96; Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 5r–6v;

[1] Some manuscripts did not include the names of the forty-eight gusheh in the text; instead, they drew a derivational graph of six āvāz, twelve pardeh, twenty-four sho'beh, and forty-eight gusheh (Ebn Safi-od-Din 1636, 158; Garakāni, n.d., 82; Anon. 3326

Anon. 8858 n.d., fol. 29v–30r; Anon. 2591 n.d., 793).[1] This response conforms to the expectation of a newly emerged set compared with the established sets of pardeh, āvāz, and sho'beh. Two musicians of the seventeenth century, Safarchi and Mosannef, even rejected the whole concept of the forty-eight gusheh; Mosannef repeatedly accused those who wrote about gusheh of being ignoramuses (Safarchi 1726, 252; Mosannef, n.d., 42–43).[2] Nonetheless, by the late seventeenth century, the concept of gusheh was sufficiently established in Iran to be transferred to the Persian writings produced in India, such as *The Treatise on Music* by Hoseyn Zahiri Esfahāni and *Tohfa-tol-Hend* by Mirza Khan Ebn Fakhr-od-Din Mohammad, which were dedicated to the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb (1658–1707). While Zahiri mentioned forty-eight names of gusheh and their derivational relations to the twenty-four sho'beh in didactic verses, Mirzā Khan could only list thirty names for the gusheh (Zahiri Esfahāni, n.d., fol. 4v–5v; Ebn Fakhr-od-Din Mohammad, n.d., 504–5).[3]

Making derivational relations between the modes in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries did not stop at six āvāz, twelve pardeh, twenty-four sho'beh, and forty-eight gusheh. These derivational relations were extended at least two steps further: three *āhang* were said to be the root of the six āvāz (A.-Q. Ghaznavi, n.d., 662), and ninety six āvāzeh were said to derive from the forty-eight gusheh (Anon. 3536 n.d., 323). A few manuscripts even extended the modal classification far beyond the common version by referring to "twenty-four gusheh, forty eight sho'beh, ninety six *daqiqeh*, one hundred and ninety two pardeh, three hundred and eighty four *nakhleh*, and seven hundred and sixty eight *kavleh*" (Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, n.d., fol. 26r), which seems quite imaginary.

1823a, 220; Anon. 3983 1792, fol. 1r; Anon. 4076 n.d., 609; Anon. 8348 1930, fol. 1r; Anon. 3536 n.d., 329). For a printed version of (Anon. 3536 n.d.) see (Pourjavady 2001).

[1] For a printed version of (Gorji, n.d.) see: (Pourjavady 2005); for a printed version of (Anon. 2591 n.d.) see (Pourjavady 2002b).

[2] For a printed version of (Safarchi 1726) see (Safarchi 1971); for a printed version of (Mosannef, n.d.) see (Pourjavady 2005).

[3] For a printed version of (Ebn Fakhr-od-Din Mohammad, n.d.) see (Ebn Fakhr-od-Din Mohammad 1975).

Figure 11: Sample graph of the derivational relations between sets of six, twelve, twenty-four, forty-eight, and ninety-six modes

(Anon. 212270 1836, fol. 8v).

Another account described derivational relations between twelve pardeh, which were divided into two groups of four primary modes and eight derivatives (Anon. 2591 n.d., 792),[1] and in another version, each pair of pardeh from the set of eight merged and formed one pardeh of the

[1] This derivation relation found an Arabic version, which varied from the Persian version in terms of the names of the primary and derivative modes (*cf.* Shiloah 1981).

set of four (A.-R. Ghaznavi 1916, 7). In a third version, four pardeh derived from the other four (Gilāni 1655, fol. 57v).

The derivational modal system of six, twelve, and twenty-four modes has been widely acknowledged by modern writers of Persian music as the modal system of Persian music from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries (*e.g.*, Caton 1998, 75). While no one has doubted this story, a surviving version of the derivational modal system is still said to be in use in Kashmiri Sufi music (Pacholczyk 1978, 7–8), suggesting that some modal relations must have existed between the related modes. For instance, the primary mode (pardeh) of Rāst and its reportedly derived mode (sho'beh) of Panjgāh must have been modally related because Panjgāh was grouped with Rāst to form one of the four collections of the related modes (Anon. 2257 n.d., fol. 277r–277v). It is a similar case for the three other pardeh of Hoseyni, Hejāz, and Zanguleh with their respective sho'beh: Dogāh & Mohayyer, Segāh & Hesār, and Chahārgāh & Ozzāl. All three pardeh were put with their related pairs of sho'beh as collections of the related modes (Anon. 2257 n.d., fol. 277r–277v).

Nevertheless, there are reasons to assume that, overall, derivational relations were symbolic relations rather than mode structure relations. First, derivational relations used by the Safavid musicians did not follow either of the two derivational relations first mentioned in accounts by Nishāburi and Bokhāri in the thirteenth century. Bokhāri claimed that the modal system consisted of seven primary modes that each had a secondary mode (A.-S. Bokhāri 1289, 258), but his account was not followed. According to Nishāburi, there were two sets of modes, twelve primary and six derivative modes, and each pair of primary modes was merged to make a certain derivative mode (Nishāburi 1265, fol. 27v). In the Safavid classification, the relation between the two sets of the six and twelve modes could have been either derivational or combinational, i.e., each pair contained in the set of twelve modes could be derived from one of the set of six modes; alternatively, each pair contained in the set of twelve modes could be combined to make one of the set of six modes (Kowkabi 1983, 18). The Safavid classification was thus a combination of the mode classifications by Nishāburi and Ormavi because it applied Nishāburi's derivational relations to Ormavi's two sets of twelve primary and six secondary modes. Although Ormavi and Nishāburi shared eight of the twelve primary modes, they were spread over different pairs and none of the pairs from Nishāburi's and the Safavid's accounts

matched; i.e., none of the four pairs of Nishāburi's primary modes, from which the secondary modes were derived, resembled the Safavid's pairs of primary modes. If a modal or musical basis or relation existed for putting two modes together to derive a secondary mode, the eight shared primary modes should have formed the same pairs, or there should have been at least one shared pair of modes; however, not even one pair of modes from Nishāburi's and the Safavid's accounts resembled each other. Besides, Ormavi did not assert any derivational relationships.

Prior to the derivational relations used by the Safavid musicians that seemed to be related to Nishāburi's account, Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi mentioned one derivational relation between the pardeh of Hejāz and the two sho'beh of Ozzāl and Nahoft in his first detailed account of the set of the twenty-four sho'beh. This derivational relation was also copied by Marāghi's son and grandson (A.-Q. Marāghi n.d., 197; A.-A. Marāghi, n.d., fol. 21v; M. Marāghi, n.d., fol. 30r). One would expect to find Marāghi's derivational relation repeated in the Safavid tradition, as he was celebrated in Safavid texts as being the last of the greatest among the legendary musicians (*e.g.*, Qazvini n.d., fol. 63v). However, in the Safavid tradition, Ozzāl and Nahoft are not the two sho'beh of Hejāz, nor are they derived from the same primary mode as a pair. According to the Safavid tradition, the two sho'beh of Hejāz were Segāh and Hesār, Ozzāl and Chahārgāh derived from Zanguleh, and Nahoft and Homāyun derived from Bozorg (Kowkabi 1983, 18).

Second, making such perfect derivations within a living musical practice seems implausible, if not impossible, even if the first and last sets of the three āhang and the ninety-six āvāzeh are excluded. It is hard to believe that all those derivative modes had modal relations with their roots in a way that they could form a perfect tree diagram of 186 modes. How could it be possible in practice that each of the three āhang gave origin to two āvāz, which each gave origin to two pardeh and which continued up to ninety-six or even more? It is similar to dividing a whole note into two half notes so that each note is divided into two quarter notes until they make a tree diagram of 63 notes. It may be possible to divide the time of a note value into two exact halves, but it is difficult to believe that each mode could perfectly generate two derived modes.

Third, no explanation was given on the theoretical or practical basis for such relations; on the contrary, some musicians stated that they were unable to explain those relations. They admitted that that they did not have the knowledge to relate all forty-eight gusheh to the twenty-four

sho‘beh, not to mention the obscure sets of the three āhang or the ninety-six āvāzeh. Qazvini, for instance, had no knowledge of the forty-eight gusheh and had not read a reference to that. He stated: “[Somebody who] had seen *Jāme-ol-Alhān* informed [me] that the details of the names of the gusheh and their attribution to the sho‘beh were mentioned there” (Qazvini n.d., fol. 67r);[1] but gusheh was briefly mentioned in *Jāme-ol-Alhān* along with pardeh and maqam as a term for the primary modes with no further details (A.-Q. Marāghi 1987, 127). It was not only difficult to find musical explanations for the derivational relationship between the forty-eight gusheh and the twenty-four sho‘beh, but the musical explanation of the derivational relations between the twenty-four sho‘beh and the twelve pardeh was also difficult to articulate, as it has been stated in a musical manuscript: “The explanation of the sho‘beh is dependent on other fields such as the knowledge of practice, mathematics, geometry, Euclid[ean geometry] and so on” (Anon. 4583 1878, 104).[2] Qazvini not only admitted his lack of knowledge about the forty-eight gusheh but also stated that the derivational relations between the twelve pardeh and the six āvāz were not easy to explain: “Distinguishing between the notes of each pair of maqam within the āvāzeh, which is composed of those two [maqam], and showing that this [note] is from this maqam and that [note] is from another, poses an enormous difficulty; there is no way to make it possible other than ‘putting the instrument and book in front of each other and juxtaposing the instruments’ strings with the book’s table,’[3] but that is also extremely difficult” (Qazvini n.d., fol. 66r).[4]

Fourth, if modal relations had existed between all the derived modes, it would have been easy for musicians to memorize and explain the derivational relations; the modal relations would have also been articulated in more detail. Instead, they recited and copied didactic poems repeatedly, most likely for memorizing the derivational relations. Various versions of such poems were popular and often quoted, and they were even copied as concise treatises on music (Ebn Safi-od-Din 1636, 130–32; Safarchi 1726, 252; Gorji, n.d., fol. 48v–49r; Anon. 2739 n.d., 48; Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, n.d., fol. 53v–55r; Mosannef, n.d., 44).

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[1] «[بعضی که] کتاب جامع الالحان خواجه عبدالقادر را دیده‌اند، خبر دادند که تفصیل اسامی و نسبت همهٔ گوشه ها و شعبه های خود در این‌جا مذکور است.»

[2] «شرح شعبات موقوف به عمل چند دیگر است که علم العمل و ریاضی و هندسه و اقلیدس و غیرهم.»

[3] Corrected from (Qazvini 1599, fol. 7r).

[4] «جدا کردن نغمه هایی که هر دو مقام در آن آوازه‌ای که از آن مرکّب است، و نشان دادن که این از کدام مقام است و آن از کدام، اشکال تمام دارد، و جز «به ساز و کتاب که هر دو را برابر هم نهند و تار ساز را با جدول کتاب» مطابقه دهند، به هیچ وجه دیگر میسّر نیست، و آن نیز به مشقّت بسیار فهمیده شد، لهذا در این مختصر از آن وادی سخن نرفت.»

Last, a first-hand account that clearly rejected modal relations between derived modes and confirmed a symbolism in attributing modes to each other would clear up any doubts. Such an account was mentioned in a sixteenth-century treatise on music that was dedicated to the Shaybānid ruler of Transoxania, Obaydollāh Khan (d. 1539); the book is attributed to Najm-od-Din Kowkabi (d. 984). In a postscript to the account of deriving twenty-four sho'beh from twelve pardeh, the text stated: "However, some of the masters did not consider this attribution as definite, and they stated that some primaries [pardeh] have relations to more than two sho'beh, as Rāst has relations to four sho'beh: Dogāh, Rāst & Panjgāh, Neshāburak, and Neyriz; and some [pardeh] have relations to less than two, such as Navā and Nowruz-e Khārā, which are not close." The text ended by justifying the derivational relations: "This way and presenting this attribution seemed appropriate to record and memorize" (Kowkabi 1983, 18–19).[1] The account was later copied and repeated by Kowkabi's follower who moved to India and authored two books on music (Q. Bokhāri 1861, fol. 14v).

In short, the Persian modal system in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries consisted of an unknown number of modes that were classified into at least four sets of six āvāz, twelve pardeh, twenty-four sho'beh, and forty-eight gusheh. These four sets were symbolically related to each other in a way that each pair of modes of a larger set derived from a certain mode of the smaller set. This symbolic derivational relation resulted in a tree diagram with at least forty-eight top branches that consecutively derived from the lower branches. Although some of the attributed modes might have been modally related, the whole concept of the derivational relations must have been a symbolic system of attribution designed for organizing the modes. It is likely that the binary derivative relations reappeared in Persian music as a result of the cultural exchanges between Persia and India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Indian music was based on the six ragas for the six seasons, each of which had five raginis or wives and eight putras or sons.[2] At the same time, a practical necessity to organize modes based on their modal and structural relations must have been at the origin for the emergence and development of "the collection of the modes"

[1] «اگر چه بعضی از استادان این نسبت را مسلّم نمی داشتند، و می‌فرمودند که بعضی از اصول را نسبت با شعبه زیاده بر دو و سه است، چنان‌که راست را نسبت با چهار شعبه است: دوگاه و راست و پنجگاه و نشابورک و نیریز، و بعضی دیگر را نسبت کم از دو است، هم‌چون نسبت نوا با نوروز خارا که خالی از بعدی نیست. امّا این طریق و ایراد این نسبت به جهت ضبط و محافظت مناسب نمود.»

[2] There are different versions of raga-ragini-putra relations with different numbers of raginis and putras attributed to a raga; however, they all consider relations between the three sets of modes.

that could be used as modulation instructions, a concept that will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: The Emergence of Dastgāh: The Rise of Multimodal Performance

In the thirteenth century, Safi-od-Din Ormavi used a mathematical approach to explain the practice of music in his concise book entitled *Book on the Cycles* (*Ketāb-ol-Advār*). His attempt at theorizing the practice of music was expanded in his more extensive book, *Resālah ash-Sharafiyyah*, in which he showed his comprehensive knowledge of the debates on the theory of music in Islamic music-related texts. He quoted Mohammad Fārābi (872–950), the legendary Muslim writer of music theory, and disagreed with his purely theoretical discussions including those on the nature of sound (Ormavi 1268, fol. 3v–7v). Ormavi's authentic approach to theorize the new modal system of twelve primary and six secondary modes was subsequently followed by his successors, mainly in the form of commentaries on or translations of his *Book on the Cycles*. Although his follower, Qotb-od-Din Shirazi, disagreed with his theoretical views (Q.-D. Shirazi 1306, fol. 171v–173r), and the somewhat later author, Hasan Kāshi, implicitly stated that Ormavi's set of twelve modes was inaccurate (Kāshi 1435, fol. 166r). Musicians from the fifteenth century onwards celebrated Ormavi as a mystical sage, who revealed the theory of music in his codex. It looked like Ormavi had outlined the absolute knowledge of music in the form of complicated codes and there was no job left but to decode his basic mathematical way of dividing the frets, which could presumably define the pitches, although by no means was it a perfect or completely accurate method (see: Mohammadi 2006).

Although Ormavi's approach was developed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the practice of music diverged from purely theoretical and mathematical discussions, particularly in the oral tradition of Persian music. The contradictions between the theory and practice of music were also reflected in the fifteenth-century musical writings. For example, Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi (d. 1435) used phrases such as "the masters of practice" (*arbāb-e amal*)[1] to contrast the practice of music with the more abstract theoretical discussions that were developed based on Ormavi's tradition (*e.g.*, A.-Q. Marāghi n.d., 108, 110, 115, 116, 117, 125, 131). Marāghi not only criticized

[1] «ارباب عمل.»

Shirazi for not being a performing musician, but he also stated that the theory of music should reflect the practice (A.-Q. Marāghi n.d., 123, 124). While the symbolic relations between the modes were being developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Safavid interpretations of Ormavi's theory of music seemed to diverge widely from practice. The divergence of practice from theory must have increased considerably with the emergence of the concept of symbolic derivational relations. The derivational relations presented a rather symbolic connection between the modes, which might not be fully applied to the practice of music. Therefore, the potential to develop a new classification of the modes must have increased gradually. The new classification should have been based on the modal or musical relations between the modes to compensate for the symbolic derivational relations and to counterbalance the theory and practice of music.

The oldest record on the modal relation between the Persian and Arabic modes seems to be an account of the shared notes of the primary modes. This account first appeared in the thirteenth century in Ormavi's *Ketāb-ol-Advār* in which he dedicated the tenth chapter to explaining how the notes were shared between two or more of the twelve primary modes. According to his explanation, the first three modes, Oshshāq, Navā, and Busalik, shared all seven notes; thus, if the scale of Oshshāq started from the second note or the third, it would become the scale of Navā or the scale of Busalik. The chapter ended with a diagram of twelve concentric circles, with each circle presenting a scale of one of the primary modes (Figure 12). The seventeen radiuses spread equally on the circles marked the seventeen notes of Ormavi's theoretical scale (Ormavi n.d., fol. 9r).

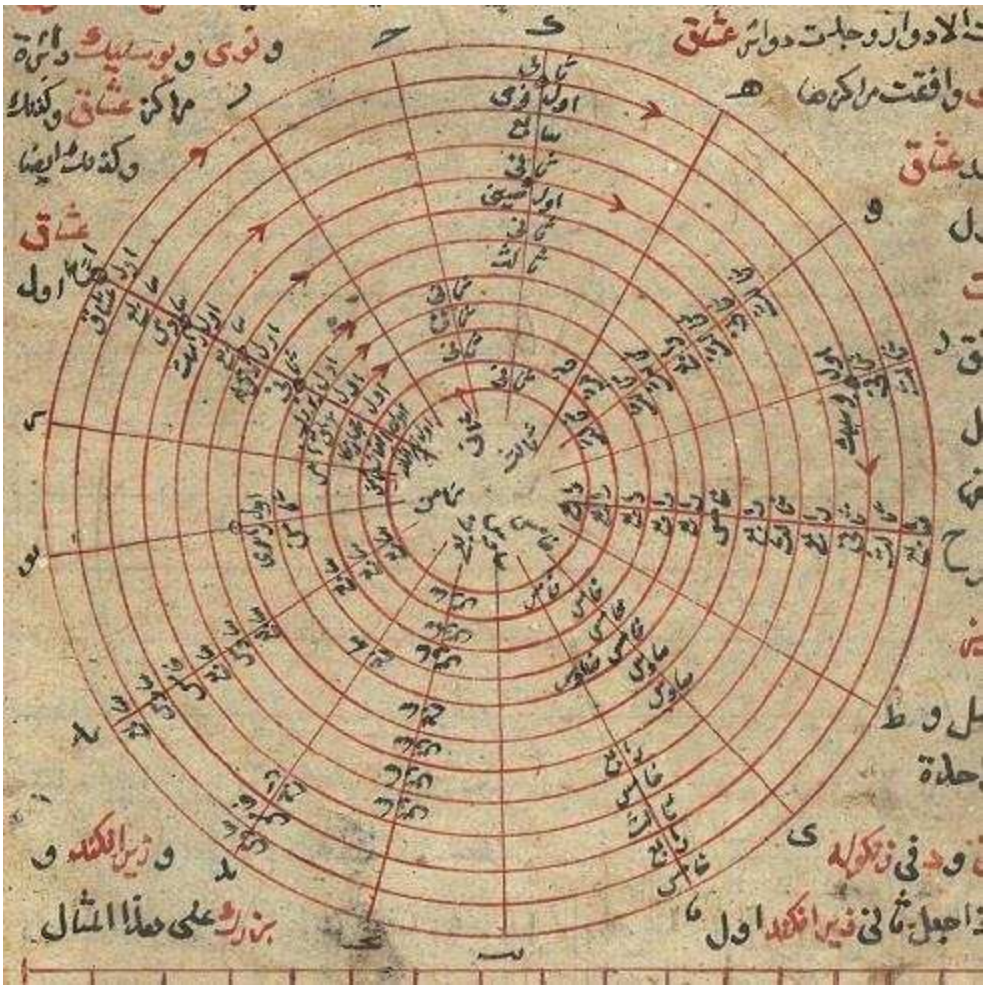

Figure 12: Ormavi's concentric circles of shared notes

(Ormavi n.d., fol. 9r).

The subsequent author, Qotb-od-Din Shirazi, went beyond the concept of shared notes between the modes by interpreting the modal relations of the modes as a modulation instruction. Shirazi offered a table in which the related modes were juxtaposed in pairs (Q.-D. Shirazi 1306, fol. 197v–198r). The table was organized into two parts: The first part contained a list of the related modes with the same starting notes of the scales, and the second part provided a list of the related modes with different or transposed starting notes of the scales. To present a visual scheme of the relation between the modes according to Shirazi, the first part of his modulation table is summarized as a diagram in which related modes are positioned in the same polygons (Figure 14).

The table shows that the primary mode of Hoseyni and the secondary mode of Dogāh had more related modes than the others; Hoseyni was related to ten modes and Dogāh had seven related modes. Hence, and purposefully, I call this diagram Dogāh & Hoseyni.

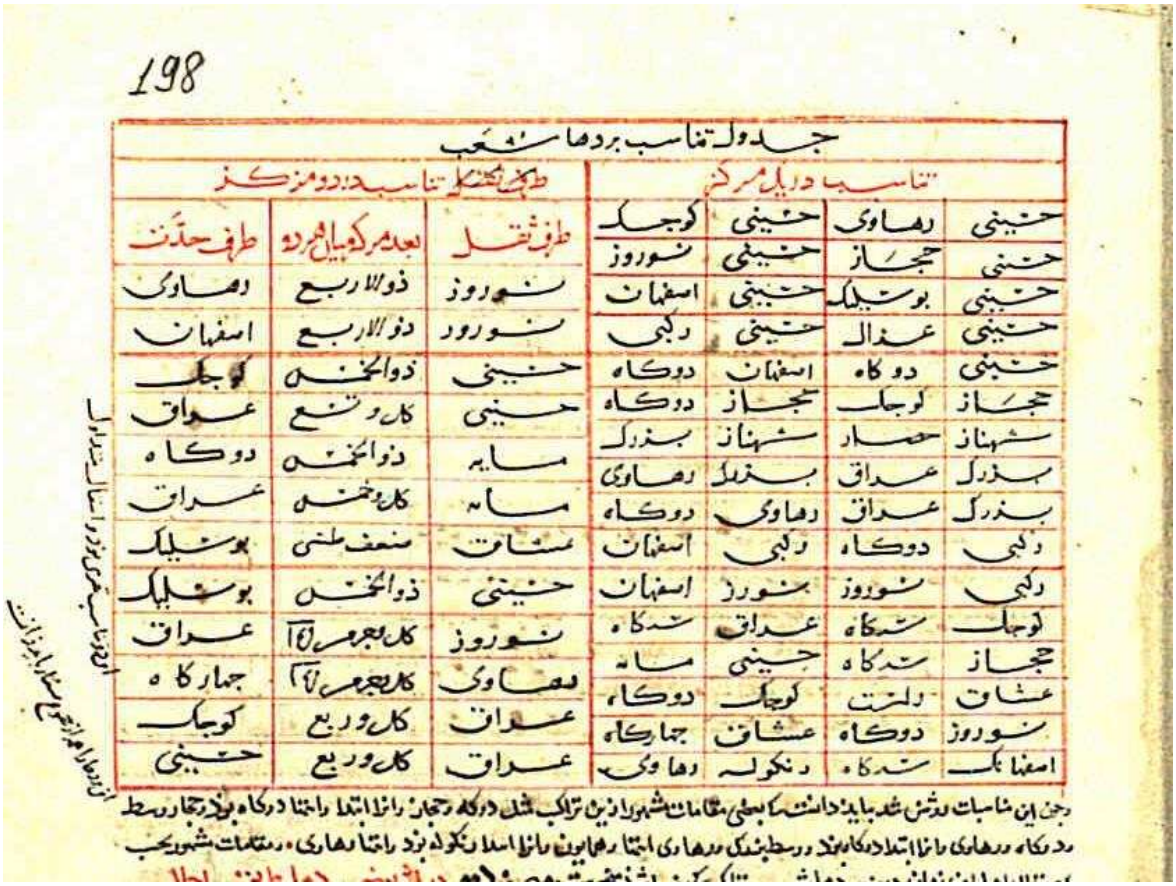

Figure 13: The table of the related modes according to Shirazi

(Q.-D. Shirazi 1306, fol. 198r).

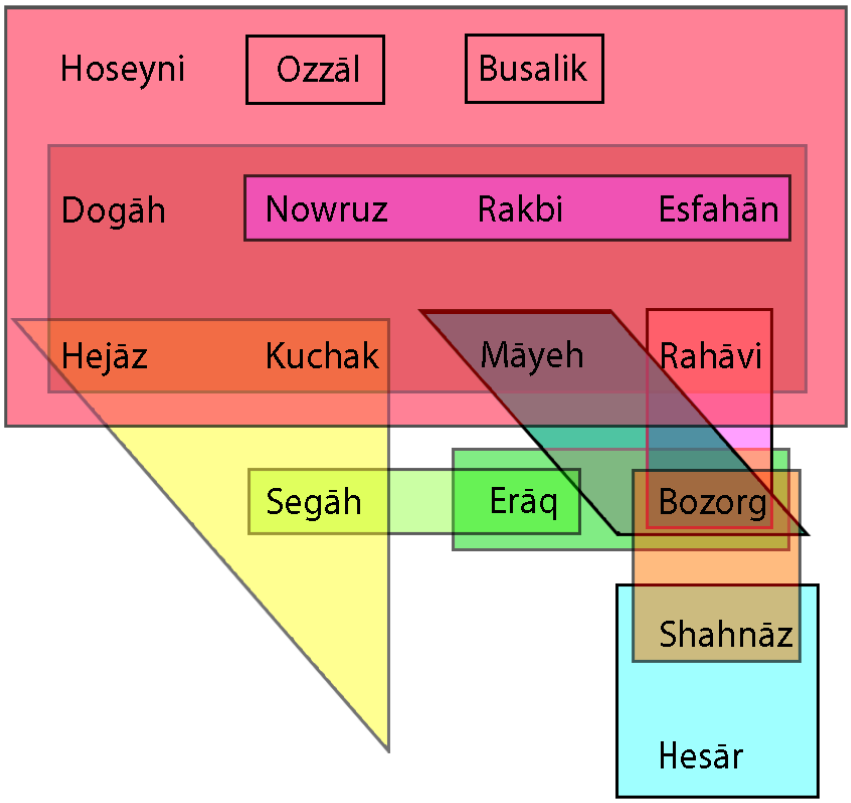

Figure 14: Dogāh & Hoseyni, rearranging Shirazi's table of related modes

(Q.-D. Shirazi 1306, fol. 198r, 1307, fol. 156v).

A century later, Abd-al-Qāder Marāghi gave a more precise and detailed account of the modes that were related to each of the twelve primary modes. This account was essentially a modulation instruction list. According to Marāghi, the primary mode of Rāst, for instance, had a collection of twelve related modes: Hoseyni and Esfahān among the twelve primary modes, or pardeh; Nowruz and Gardāniā among the six secondary modes, or āvāz; and Mohayyer, Panjgāh, Chahārgāh, Segāh, Zāvoli, two forms of Neyriz, and Ashirā among the twenty-four supplementary modes, or sho'beh. Since modes are modally correlated, some modes such as Zanguleh could be added to the list of the modes related to Rāst, because Rāst was found in the collection of the modes related to those modes. Hence, the list of the modes related to Rāst includes Hoseyni,

Esfahān, Zanguleh, Nowruz, Gardāniā, Mohayyer, Panjgāh, Chahārgāh, Segāh, Zāvoli, two Neyriz, and Ashirā (A.-Q. Marāghi 1418, fol. 52v).

Ormavi's concept of the shared notes between the modes seems to be a theoretical discourse rather than a practical instruction. However, Shirazi created a table of the related modes, which could be used for modulations in practice. Marāghi developed the modulation instructions and suggested a group of related modes for each of the twelve primary modes. The development of that group could be considered an early sign of an emerging concept; the collection of related modes. In the seventeenth century, the concept of the collections of related modes was developed significantly towards a more practical modulation instruction. I found three manuscripts that present similar early accounts of the collections of related modes (Anon. 2257 n.d., fol. 277r–277v; Anon. 3326 1823b, 223; Anon. 7499 1856, 70). The more detailed account outlined five collections, stating that the first and last were related to the same collections of modes:

> If they sing in Rāst, they should pass over [modes of] Gardānieh and Neyriz and Esfahān and Esfahānak and Sepehri and Salmak and Shahnāz and Neshāburak; it would be gracious. And if they sing Dogāh, they should pass over Hoseyni and Mohayyer and Kuchak and Rakb and Āshurā [Ashirān] and Nowruz-e Sabā and Busalik; it would be gracious. And if they sing in Segāh, they should pass over Hesār and Maghlub and Owj and Hejāz and Bustān Negār [Basteh Negār]; it would be gracious. And if they sing Chahārgāh, they should pass over Zanguleh and Ozzāl and Nahoft and Homāyun; it would be gracious. And if they sing Panjgāh, it should be the same as they sing in Rāst. (Anon. 2257 n.d., fol. 277r–277v)[1]

It is not certain whether these five modulation collections were all or just some of the common modulation instructions, and it is unclear whether they were the only version of such collections. Moreover, it is unclear whether the coordinating conjunction "and" indicated any advised order for performing the modes of each collection, although one may assume so. The three

[1] «اگر در راست خوانند، گردانیه و نیریز و اصفهان و اصفهانک و سپهری و سلمک و شهناز و نشابورک سیر کنند، خوش آینده باشد؛ و اگر در دوگاه خوانند، حسینی و محیّر و کوچک و رکب و عاشورا و نوروز صبا و بوسلیک را سیر کنند، خوش آینده باشد؛ و اگر در سه‌گاه خوانند، حصار و مغلوب و اوج و حجاز و بوستان نگار را سیر کنند، خوش آینده باشد؛ و اگر چارگاه خوانند، زنگوله و عزّال و نهفت و هایون را سیر کنند، خوش آینده باشد؛ و اگر پنجگاه خوانند، همان که در راست خوانند.»

accounts can be collated by comparing the available three manuscripts (Anon. 2257 n.d., fol. 277r–277v; Anon. 3326 1823b, 223; Anon. 7499 1856, 70):

Table 5 Early Safavid collections of the modes as modulation instructions

Rāst	Gardānieh, Neyriz, Esfahān, Esfahānak, Sepehri, Salmak, Shahnāz, Neshāburak
Dogāh	Hoseyni, Mohayyer, Kuchak, Rakb, Ashirān, Nowruz-e Sabā, Busalik
Segāh	Hesār, Maghlub, Owj, Hejāz, Basteh Negār
Chahārgāh	Zanguleh, Ozzāl, Nahoft, Homāyun
Panjgāh	Same as Rāst: Gardānieh, Neyriz, Esfahān, Esfahānak, Sepehri, Salmak, Shahnāz, Neshāburak

The five collections followed the numerical order of the frets of a long-necked or short-necked stringed instrument in pre-Islamic Persia. The first note, tonic, or open-handed string, was called Rāst, which literally means "accord" or "just." The second, third, fourth, and fifth notes were usually produced by pressing the forefinger, middle finger, ring finger, and little fingers, respectively. The produced notes were called Dogāh, Segāh, Chahārgāh, and Panjgāh, which mean the second, third, fourth, and fifth positions. Shirazi and Marāghi previously adopted this order in their account of Sho'beh (Q.-D. Shirazi 1306, fol. 197r; A.-Q. Marāghi 1418, fol. 45v).

A specific term was not assigned to the concept of the collections of modes until the seventeenth century, when it was explained as the concept of shad. Safi-od-Din Ormavi had previously used shad to mean *dawr* (cycle) and to refer to the primary modes, when quoting "the folks of this technique (music)" (Ormavi n.d., fol. 7v).[1] Accordingly, shad was also used to refer to the tuning patterns of a certain musical instrument in a way that open strings corresponded to the main notes of a certain mode (A.-Q. Marāghi 1418, fol. 75v–77r). In the seventeenth century, shad was adopted to refer to the developed version of the collections of modes as modulation instructions. An early treatise entitled *Bahjat-or-Ruh* by a so-called Abd-al-Mo'men Ebn-e Safi-od-Din, briefly mentioned shad and its assumed relations with four elements and four directions:

[1] «أهل هذه الصناعة.»

> There are four shad in music: the first shad is Navā & Neshāburak, fiery and eastern; the second shad is Dogāh & Hoseyni, windy and western; the third shad is Rāst & Panjgāh, northern and watery; the fourth shad is Mokhālef & Erāq, southern and earthy. (Ebn Safi-od-Din 1636, 151)[1]

Two of the mentioned shad, Rāst & Panjgāh and Dogāh & Hoseyni, could be found among the previously untitled collections of modes. Dogāh & Hoseyni was also the name of the diagram that was extracted from Shirazi's table of related modes (Figure 14). The next treatise that mentioned shad as a musical concept was written by Persian emigrated musician in Moghul India, Hoseyn Zahiri Esfahāni, who had dedicated his book to the great king of India, Aurangzeb (r.1658–1707). Esfahāni gave a detailed account of the four shad, which appeared to be a firsthand account by a knowledgeable musician (Zahiri Esfahāni, n.d., fol. 5v–6v). The details of the four shad were subsequently circulated in many musical texts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to the common version, three of the four shad—Rāst, Dogāh, Mokhālef, and Chahārgāh—matched the previous concept of the collections of modes, and the shad of Mokhālef replaced the collection of Segāh, but given details of Segāh and Mokhālef remained comparable. Table 6 shows the details of the four shad juxtaposed with the details of the modulation instructions (Anon. 2911 n.d., 264–65):

[1] «چهار شدّ در موسیقیست: شدّ اوّل نوا و نشابورک، آتشی مشرق؛ شد دوم دوگاه و حسینی، بادی و مغربی؛ شد سوم راست و پنجگاه، شمالی و آبی؛ شد چهارم، مخالف و عراق، جنوبی و خاکی.»

Table 6: Comparative tables of the modes in the four modulation instructions and the four shad

Modes in modulation instruction: Rāst or Panjgāh	Gardānieh, Neyriz, Esfahān, Esfahānak, Sepehri, Salmak, Shahnāz, Neshāburak.
Modes in shad: Rāst	Rāst to Panjgāh to Gardānieh to Busalik to Panjgāh to Salmak to Esfahān to Neyriz to Rāst to Oshshāq to Neshāburak to Nahāvandak to Bayāt to Navā to Oshshāq to Neshāburak to Nowruz-e Arab to Basteh Negār to Māhur to Neshāburak to Panjgāh to Rāst.
Modes in modulation instruction: Dogāh	Hoseyni, Mohayyer, Kuchak, Rakb, Ashirān, Nowruz-e Sabā, Busalik
Modes in shad: Dogāh	Dogāh to Hesār to Dogāh to Hoseyni to Ashirān to Mohayyer to Kuchak to Bozorg to Nowruz-e Sabā? to Gavesht to Nowruz-e Khārā to Nowruz-e Ajam to Navā to Hoseyni to Dogāh.
Modes in modulation instruction: Segāh	Hesār, Maghlub, Owj, Hejāz, Basteh Negār.
Modes in shad: Mokhālef	Mokhālef to Erāq to Segāh to Maghlub to Segāh to Hejāz to Gardānieh to Erāq to Mokhālef.
Modes in modulation instruction: Chahārgāh	Zanguleh, Ozzāl, Nahoft, Homāyun.
Modes in shad: Chahārgāh	Chahārgāh to Ozzāl to Chahārgāh to Nowruz-e Arab to Ozzāl to Chahārgāh to Zanguleh to Rakb to Bayāt to Ajam to Neshāburak to Erāq to Mokhālef to Chahārgāh.

Controversy arose regarding the whole concept and the finer details of shad. For example, Qazvini rejected the concept of shad in his treatise on music, claiming that musicians of his time use shad for "a few parts of a maqam or for the few maqam that they are able to perform, and they do not use shad for the difficult parts of each maqam in which they are unable to compose a song; and there is no doubt that it is incorrect and wrong" (Qazvini n.d., fol. 66v–67r).[1] Esfahāni's

[1] «از هر مقامی بلکه از سه چهار مقام هر کدام دو سه مرتبهٔ مختلف را که از عهده بیرون می‌آیند و می‌توانند نواخت می‌گویند، و باقی مراتب مشکله از هر مقامی که در آنها کاری نمی‌توانند ساخت، شد نمی‌خوانند، و هیچ شبهه نیست که خطا و غلط است.»

treatise on music later reflected the controversy surrounding the finer details of the shad in a postscript to his detailed account of the four shad—Rāst, Dogāh, Mokhālef and Ruh (Chahārgāh):

> However, Hāfez Advār, who was among the recent musicians and was highly skilled in this technique [of music], set [the shad] in a different way; for instance, Navā & Neshāburak & Dogāh & Hesārak-e Navā & Nahāvandak & Oshshāq & Navā & Dogāh & Ajam and so forth. He disarranged most of the tunes and made it an instance of the contradiction, which most of the masters consider disagreeable (Zahiri Esfahāni, n.d., fol. 6v).[1]

Esfahāni's account of the controversy surrounding the shad mentioned Navā & Neshāburak which must be the same shad as "Navā & Neshābur" mentioned in *Bahjat-or-Ruh*. Although it was documented in two separate accounts, it was not widely repeated by subsequent authors. Although the often-quoted version consisted of the four shad, Dogāh, Rāst, Mokhālef, and Chahārgāh, parallel versions must have existed during the emergence and establishment of the shad. Studying the controversy of both the concept of the shad and the titles or details of various shad would deserve a comparative case study that considers many texts. The result should reflect not only the various versions and variations but also the local traditions. It may also provide a better view of how the concept of the shad emerged and evolved over time, and how it was altered or changed while moving across the land or being adopted by local traditions. Considering the final two modes of each shad as they appear in the tables, one can name the four common shad as Rāst & Panjgāh, Dogāh & Hoseyni, Mokhālef & Erāq, and Chahārgāh & Mokhālef. Three of those were also mentioned in *Bahjat-or-Ruh* with the fourth shad, Navā & Neshābur.

By the nineteenth century, the concept of the shad had been developed further. A variation of the Safavid treatise on music, *Bahjat-ol-Qolub*, which was compiled in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, provided additional information on the shad. Although the author, Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, quoted the common Safavid version of the four shad, he presented a varied account in which the shad of Rāst was replaced by Erāq and the details of the four shad were outlined differently. Moreover, Shirazi briefly mentioned another version, which consisted of the

[1] «اگر چه حافظ ادوار که از متأخّرین است و بسیار درین فن ماهر بوده، برخلاف این طرز قرار داده است؛ مثل نوا و نشابورک و دوگاه و حصارک نوا و نخاوندک و عشّاق و نوا و دوگاه و عجم و مانند این‌ها؛ و اکثر نغمه ها را برهم زده است؛ و اجتماع نقیضین را مثل کرده است، و اکثر استادان این طرز را ناپسند می‌دانند.»

four shad of Bayāt-e Qajar, Denāsori, Panjgāh, and Māhur, and a single shad of Shahnāz (Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, n.d., fol. 50r–53v). Nowruz had been also mentioned as a shad in an anonymous manuscript (Anon. 4583 1878, 113). Hence, a rough list of the various shad that were mentioned in manuscripts includes Rāst & Panjgāh, Dogāh & Hoseyni, Mokhālef & Erāq, Chahārgāh & Mokhālef, Navā & Neshābur, Nowruz, Māhur, Shahnāz, Bayāt-e Qajar, and Denāsori. The author of *Bahjat-ol-Qolub* drew four graphs to outline the details of the four shad of Dogāh, Chahārgāh, Mokhālef, and Erāq (Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, n.d., fol. 51v–52r). The considerable similarity between the four graphs of the four shad seems to be superficial and implies that either the author did not have comprehensive knowledge of the four shad or that he preferred a better visual impression to a more informative description. Therefore, the graphs might not be reliable enough for a structural analysis.

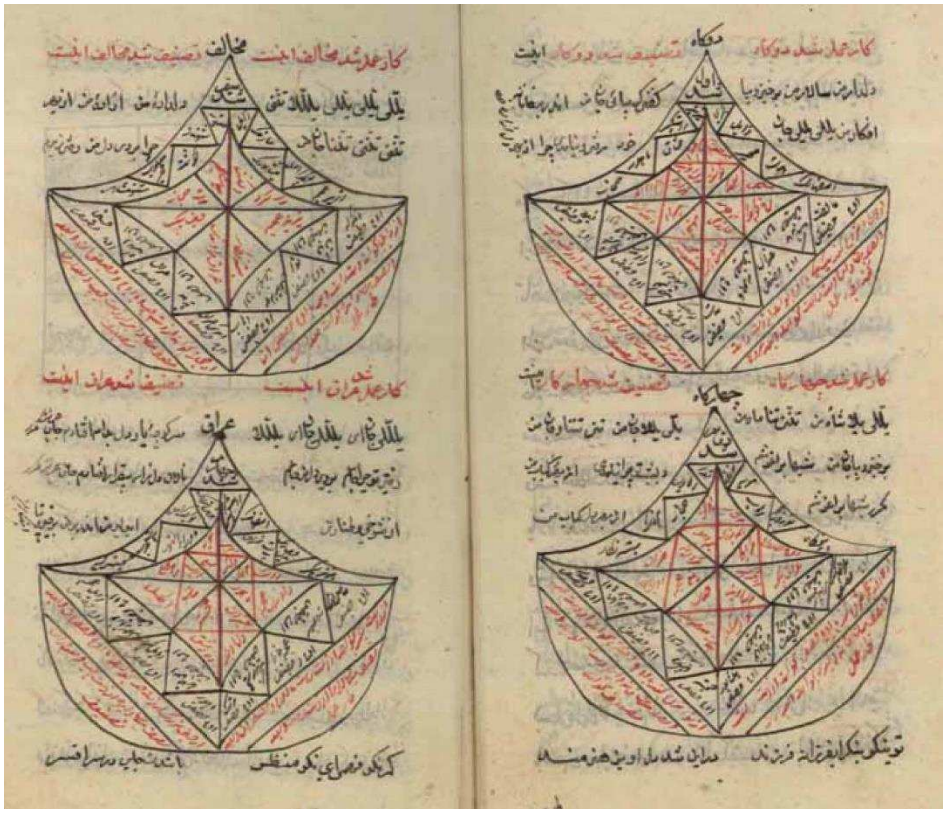

Figure 15: Graphs of the four shad in *Bahjat-ol-Qolub*

(Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, n.d., fol. 51v–52r)

Dogāh (right-top), Chahārgāh (right-bottom), Mokhālef (left-top), and Erāq (left-bottom).

A comparison of the four collections of modulation instructions and the four shad shows how the early modulation instructions were developed into the concept of shad by the addition of more related modes and by explicitly mentioning a suggested order for passing from one mode to the next. Even though an implied order of performance is considered for the Safavid modulation instructions, it may not have been as restrictive as the advised order of the shad. Having an advised order of modulation transformed the collection of modes from modulation instructions to fixed multimodal performances of related modes under a certain order of passing from one mode to the next.

In short, during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, the concept of the collection of modes was being established and evolving into the concept of the shad. The newly emerging concept of the collections of related modes as modulation instructions, which subsequently found a performance order under the title of the shad, was more practical for performing music than the earlier classification of modes that were put together as mode sets from a primarily symbolic perspective. While being established or fixed, the collections found variations in their numbers, details, and titles. Although the concept of the collections of related modes had no specific title at first, the title of shad was soon adopted and a second title, dastgāh, gradually came into use (Chapter 6).

Dastgāh is an old Persian term that consists of two parts: dast, meaning hand, and gāh, which is a suffix for place and time. The literal translation of dastgāh is therefore "the place that one puts the hand on" and the figurative meaning is the power that somebody's belongings give to the owner. In a nineteenth-century Persian dictionary, dastgāh was translated into English as "wealth, excellence, [.] wisdom, power, strength, ability." A monarch's army and judiciary were parts of his dastgāh; thus, the king who had a "tribunal of justice" or a "victorious army" was respectively titled "ma'dalat dastgāh" (with a just tribunal) or "zafar dastgāh" (with a victorious army) (Johnson 1852, 570). One anonymous piece of text stated that it was impossible to compose pieces in certain modes because they did not have a dastgāh (Anon. 9617 n.d., 114),[1] while another anonymous text, which referred to certain modes as "sāheb dastgāh" (dastgāh holder), described

[1] For a printed version see (Pourjavady 2002a).

certain modes as bi-dastgāh (lacking a dastgāh), “khāli az dastgāhi nist” (does not totally lack dastgāh), and “dastgāh-e chandāni nadārad” (does not hold a considerable dastgāh) (Anon. 2591 n.d., 793–94). Therefore, various modes that were grouped around a certain mode were the dastgāh of that mode.

As sets of related modes, the modulation instruction, the shad, and the dastgāh represent different stages of the same concept: a group of related modes around a certain mode. However, some evidence indicates that the dastgāh replaced the shad. First, all four modulation instructions and seven of the nine shad appeared in *The Treatise on the Twelve Dastgāh* as six of the twelve dastgāh: Rāst Panjgāh, Nava & Neshābur, Māhur, Chahārgāh, Dogāh, Shahnāz (Shur Shahnāz), and Segāh (Segāh as modulation instructions and Mokhālef as shad) (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 13v). Tracing the names of the three categories shows a path from the modulation instructions to the dastgāh.

Table 7: Comparative list of the modulation instructions, shad, and dastgāh

Modulation Instruction	Shad	Dastgāh
Rāst or Panjgāh	Rāst (Rāst & Panjgāh)	Rāst & Panjgāh
Dogāh	Dogāh (Dogāh & Hoseyni)	Dogāh
Segāh	=Mokhālef (Mokhālef & Erāq)	Segāh
Chahārgāh	Chahārgāh (Chahārgāh & Mokhālef)	Chahārgāh Mokhālef
	Navā & Neshābur	Navā & Neshābur
	Shahnāz	Shur & Shahnāz
	Māhur	Māhur
	Nowruz	
	Bayāt-e Qajar	
	Denāsori	
		Rohāb
		Homāyun
		Zābol
		Ashirān
		Neyriz

The substitution of the dastgāh for the shad is also evident from the simultaneous utilization of both terms to describe the same concept in at least three texts. *The Treatise on the Four Dastgāh* explicitly connected these terms by utilizing them simultaneously while giving the full description of the dastgāh of Rāst: "dastgāh of Rāst, which is one of the four major shad" (Anon. 3536 n.d., 325–26).[1] Likewise, the compiler of *The Treatise on the Twelve Dastgāh* started his detailed description of the common version of the four shad from the shad of Dogāh as, "When an instrumentalist or singer picks the dastgāh, he should first perform the shad of Dogāh" (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 8r).[2] The simultaneous utilization of dastgāh and shad was also documented in a manuscript that was copied around 1891. The compiler of this manuscript referred to the shad as

[1] «دستگاه راست که از چهار شدّ اعظم است.»

[2] «پس چون سازنده و خواننده بر سر دستگاه رود، اوّل بایست شدّ دوگاه کند.»

dastgāh, and he repeated the common version of the four shad. After giving a full description of the first shad of Dogāh, the anonymous compiler added: “This was one dastgāh”; and following the full description of the shad of Rāst, he stated: “the dastgāh is concluded” (Anon. 496 1891, fol. 81v–82r).[1]

[1] «این یک دستگاه. [...] دستگاه تمام است.»

Chapter 6: The Establishment of Dastgāh

The New Persian Court and Music Patronage

In 1722, the court of Persia in Esfahān was raided by an Afghan tribe, resulting in a long period of anarchy in Persia. The Afghan commanders made an unsuccessful attempt to establish their monarchy, but they were soon defeated by the Safavid army commander, Tahmāsb-Qoli Khan. Eventually, Tahmāsb-Qoli Khan overthrew the Safavid Dynasty, crowned himself Nāder Shah Afshār, and thus established the Afshārid Dynasty (1736–1796). However, Nader's heir failed to take over full power and thus ruled only North-Eastern Persia while the Zand Dynasty (1750–1794), which was established in Shiraz, ruled the rest of the country. By the end of the eighteenth century, both dynasties were swept away by Āghā Mohammad Khan, the founder of the Qājār Dynasty (1789–1925). Although there must have been some professional entertainers at court, none of the self-claimed rulers had a chance to establish a court that could generously patronize the arts. Thus, the long period of rebellion led to a rapid and considerable decline in Persia's arts and sciences, particularly concerning the knowledge of music. The number of new writings decreased dramatically, and those that were produced were mainly religion-related texts.

There was no established court that could patronize music and the arts, and there was no leisure time in which to do so. Rising kings had to live on horseback to prevent revolts around the land of Persia before they could pass down an established kingdom to their heirs. Local rulers had little time to rest either because, when they were not riding a horse to declare themselves as a new monarch, they had to fight against either the army of a newly self-declared king or the army of an overthrown ruler. In such circumstances, musicians and their families could barely pass on the oral tradition of music, although this does not mean that there was no patronage at all. Rising kings and local rulers provided some occasional and limited patronage of music and the arts. In addition, the Sufi community had a strong relationship with the musicians. For instance, the addition of a fourth string to the Iranian classical instrument, setar (literally meaning 'three-stringed'), is attributed to a charismatic Sufi named Moshtāq-Ali Shah, who was reportedly stoned to death for reciting the

Quran while playing the setar (Hedāyat 1938d, 3:43). Nevertheless, the limited amount of patronage available was not enough to stimulate sophisticated musical discourses.

The founder of the Qājār Dynasty, Āghā Mohammad Khan (r.1789–1797), was a military strategist who reunited Persia and moved the capital to Tehran. While he was capable of extreme brutality, *e.g.*, when capturing the Persian city of Kerman and the Georgian capital of Tiflis (Perry 2011),[1] to our knowledge, he is one of the few Persian kings who played a musical instrument. In a valuable memoire of the early decades of the Qājār Dynasty, his grandnephew stated that if Āghā Mohammad Khan was in a happy mood, he would play the dotār, the two-stringed long-necked lute from North-Eastern Persia (Azod-od-Dowleh 1889, 130). His nephew and immediate successor, Fath-Ali Shah (1797–1834), succeeded in establishing a centralized bureaucracy and reviving the ancient traditions of Persian Kingship. To glorify the court of the new Persian king, he started patronizing the arts, including music.

According to *Tārikh-e Azodi* (Azod-od-Dowleh 1889, 26–29), three masters of Persian music, Mohammad-Reza, Rajab-Ali, and the Chālānchi, attended Fath-Ali Shah's court in the mornings and trained the King's bondmaid entertainers. Azod-od-Dowleh claimed that two groups of entertainers comprising more than fifty women were directed by two female masters, Minā and Zohreh, who had been formerly trained by two other musicians, Mehrāb Esfahāni and Rostam Shirazi. In a book on popular Persian poetry, the Polish orientalist Aleksander Borejko Chodźko (1804–1891) mentioned that most of the Persian songs were sung to him "by Chalanchi Khan, the director of the shah's orchestra; by Molla Karim, his first singer; and by Rejeb Aly Khan, his first violin and dancing-master to the Bayaderes of the Teheran court; — names of high repute in the annals of the *beau monde* of Teheran" (Chodźko 1842, 417). *The Treatise on the Twelve Dastgāh* contains rare information about the Fath-Ali Shah's musicians, including Chālānchi Khan, Rajab-Ali Khan, and Āqā Mohammad-Reza, and introduces two other musicians, Āqā Bābā Makhmur and Āqā Ebrāhim (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 13r–14v).

[1] "Āḡā Moḥammad's conduct at Kerman has come down as an exemplar of brutality: Nearly 20,000 women and children were given as slaves to the soldiers, and all adult males were either put to death or blinded. […] Tiflis savagely sacked; the old and infirm and the priests were massacred, and at least 15,000 able-bodied men and women taken into slavery" (Perry 2011).

Fath-Ali Shah had more musicians at his court, among which was Ali-Mohammad of Khānsār, a poet with the pen name of Qerqi. Ali-Mohammad would read historical texts for the Shah in the evenings and sing in a soft voice using his superior musical skill (Azod-od-Dowleh 1889, 118). Azod-od-Dowleh reported that Mohammad-Reza's daughter, Shah-verdi, was also a good musician. Shah-verdi and Beygom, a female musician originally from Rostamābād, served in the Shah's harem. They stayed at the house of the Shah's favorite wife, Tāj-od-Dowleh, and accompanied her wherever she traveled (Azod-od-Dowleh 1889, 11–12). The few available texts provide a list of eleven musicians at the court of Fath-Ali Shah, including Mohammad-Reza, Rajab-Ali, Chālānchi, Āqā Bābā Makhmur, Āqā Ebrāhim, Molla Karim, Ali-Mohammad Khānsāri, Minā, Zohreh, Shah-verdi, and Beygom. However, there must have been many musicians whose names did not survive in the texts because written sources likely only show a small part of the knowledge shared in oral societies.

Two Sets of Four Dastgāh

Bahjat-ol-Qolub was probably the first Persian musical text in which a set of dastgāh was mentioned, although it was included as a graph only (Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, n.d., fol. 57v). The graph included the following four dastgāh: Hoseyni & Segāh, Rāst & Panjgāh, Homāyun & Dogāh, and Chahārgāh & Mokhālef.

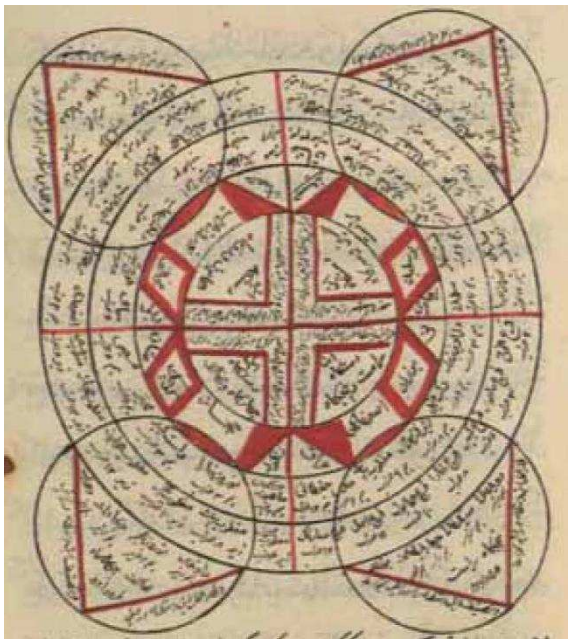

Figure 16: Graph of a set of four dastgāh from *Bahjat-ol-Qolub*

(Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, n.d., fol. 57v).

The graph of four dastgāh seems to be unduly symmetrical; it must have been impossible to apply such a symmetrical system of mode classification in musical practice. Notably, two of the four dastgāh had alternative counterparts among the shad sets, and the graph included Hoseyni & Segāh and Homāyun & Dogāh, whereas the shad sets included Dogāh & Hoseyni. As discussed in Chapter 5, Dogāh & Hoseyni could be traced back to the thirteenth century. Therefore, the graph of four dastgāh in *Bahjat-ol-Qolub* seems to be either symbolic or produced by a writer who had limited knowledge of the dastgāh, at least in terms of musical practice.

The second text, *The Treatise on the Four Dastgāh*, is attached at the end of a miscellaneous collection from the eighteenth century. However, it has been copied on a clearly different type of blue European paper, which was not widely used in Persia prior to the nineteenth century. The text started with the Safavid discourses, followed by an epilogue on the details of the four "main" dastgāh (Anon. 3536 n.d., 325–27)—Chahārgāh, Rāst, Navā, and Rohāb—which have all been mentioned among the twelve dastgāh (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 13v), as is discussed in the next section. Among the four main dastgāh, the three dastgāh of Chahārgāh, Rāst, and Navā had been previously mentioned among the four shad of *Bahjat-or-Ruh* (Ebn Safi-od-Din 1636, 151), and they remained in the established version of the seven dastgāh (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 34–37). The two dastgāh of Rāst and Chahārgāh had been also mentioned in detail in the common version of the four shad (Anon. 2911 n.d., 264–65). It is not clear from the text why only four dastgāh were explained, or which and how many dastgāh were not included. It might simply be that the author had limited knowledge and he thus explained the four dastgāh with which he was most familiar.

By recording "the four main shad" and "the four main dastgāh," the text implicitly stated that both the shad and the dastgāh were more four: "Of the four main dastgāh, one is Chahārgāh […]; among the main dastgāh, one is the dastgāh of Navā […]; the dastgāh of Rāst is one of the four main shad" (Anon. 3536 n.d., 325–26).[1] Table 8 summarizes various modes as they appeared in the descriptions of the four main dastgāh (Anon. 3536 n.d., 325–27). The three versions of dastgāh Navā are listed as (a), (b), and (c), and variations within dastgāh Chahārgāh and dastgāh Rāst are shown by "either-or."

[1] «از چهار دستگاه اعظم یکی چهارگاه است [...] از جملهٔ دستگاه اعظم یکی دستگاه نواست [...] دستگاه راست که از چهار شدّ اعظم است.»

Table 8: Details of the second set of four dastgah

Chahārgāh	Darāmad of Zanguleh, Segāh, Chahārgāh, Owj & Haziz, Se-tahrir of Segāh, Chahārgāh in lower range, Mokhālef, lower range of Mokhālef in Hodi, Hodi, Ruhafzā, Hejāz, Mokhālef, Zābol, Hesār, Nowruz-e Khārā, Gardānieh, Bayāt-e Ajam, Rohāb, Māvarā-an-Nahr, then either "Shahnāz, Kuti, Shur, Bayāt-e Qajar" or "Mansuri" and return to Chahārgāh.
Navā	(a) Darāmad of Navā, Ashirān, Nahoft, Dogāh, Sabā, Busalik, Rahāvi. (b) Darāmad of Navā, Rāk, Sāranj, Oshshāq. (c) Darāmad of Navā, Rohāb, Esfahān, Hoseyni, Dogāh, Nowruz-e Sabā, Mansuri, Shahnāz, Bayat-e Asl, Shur, Khāneqāhi, return to Navā, Nishāburak.
Rāst	Darāmad of Rāst, Mo'ālef, Neyriz-e Saghir, Kuchak, then either "lower range in Navā, Rāk, Sārang, Rāk, Oshshāq, Rāk," or "Oshshāq, Panjgāh, Mobarqa, Zanguleh, Erāq, Ruy-e Erāq, Manbar-e Erāq, Mansurieh-ye Erāq, Zanguleh-ye Erāq, Nowruz-e Arab, Nowruz-e Ajam, Rahāvandi, Ozzāl in lower range, Bayāt-e Ajam, Bozorg in Ozzāl, from Ozzāl to Homāyun or return to Rāst".
Rohāb	Darāmad of Rohāb, Esfahānak, Delkash, Moqaddameh-ye Hoseyni, Hoseyni, Bozorg in Hoseyni, Dogāh, Nowruz-e Sabā, Bozorg in Dogāh, Ashirān, Nahoft, Busalik, return to Rohāb.

The Treatise on the Twelve Dastgāh

Among all of the manuscripts that mention a set of dastgāh, the twelve dastgāh listed in an anonymous manuscript compiled in 1839–40 (1255 AH) are still the closest account to the modern seven-dastgāh system because all seven dastgāh appeared in the list of twelve dastgāh (c.f. Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 13v; M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 34–37). A count of the words shows that the main body of the text (eighty-five percent of the entire treatise) reflected familiar Safavid discussions regarding the origin and development of music, the twelve pardeh, the six āvāz, the twenty-four sho'beh, the forty-eight gusheh, suitable times for the performance of each mode, the shad, the rhythmic cycles, and the musical forms of composition and performance (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 1r–13r). The main body of the text was followed by a momentous postscript, which forms fifteen percent of the whole text.

The postscript provided brief biographies of a few musicians from the early nineteenth century, namely Āqā-Bābā Makhmur of Isfahan, Rajab-Ali Khan of Kerman, Chālānchi Khan, Āqā Mohammad-Reza, and Āqā Ebrāhim (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 13r–14v). The addendum is also the earliest dated document on a set of dastgāh, as it shows the formation of the dastgāh system by 1839–40. The short biographical account of Āqā-Bābā Makhmur included the following:

> The common practice among the singers and instrumentalists at that time [Āqā-Bābā's life] and today is the same canon that was established by Āqā-Bābā. That master brought together all the āvāzeh, maqam, sho'beh, and gusheh and established twelve dastgāh, as follows: 1. Rāst Panjgāh, 2. Nava & Neshābur, 3. Homāyun, 4. Māhur, 5. Rohāb, 6. Shur Shahnāz, 7. Chahārgāh Mokhālef, 8. Segāh, 9. Dogāh, 10. Zābol, 11. Ashirān, 12. Neyriz. (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 13r)[1]

Although the text stated that Āqā-Bābā Makhmur "brought together all the āvāzeh, maqam, sho'beh, and gusheh and established twelve dastgāh," the extent of his role in the establishment of

[1] «آن‌چه در آن زمان و این زمان مَعْمُولٌ بِه خواننده ها و سازنده هاست، همان قانونی است که استاد آقا بابا نهاده است، و آن استاد جمیع آوازه ها و مقامات و شعبه‌ها و گوشه ها را در یکدیگر ریخته، دوازده دستگاه قرار داده، بدین ترتیب: ۱.راست پنجگاه ۲.نوا و نشابور ۳.همایون ۴.ماهور ۵.رهاب ۶.شول (شور) شهناز ۷.چهارگاه مخالف ۸.سه‌گاه ۹.دوگاه ۱۰.زابل ۱۱.عشیران ۱۲.نیریز.»

the twelve dastgāh system remains obscure. It is more likely that he narrated a good version of what he had learned or that the author of the text merely attributed the establishment of dastgāh to him because of his stature as the leading musician of the time. The concept of dastgāh was a developed version of the concept of shad, which in turn gradually evolved from modulation instructions. However, by providing significant information about the origin of the court musicians who established the dastgāh system, the text indicated that the tradition of the music was transferred to Tehran once it was established as the capital. One may readily assume that the musicians were originally from big Persian cities such as Esfahan, Kerman, and Shiraz, where the tradition of art and music had prevailed; they moved to Tehran once the new Persian court was established enough to patronize the arts. The text provided valuable information on such migrations of musicians (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 13r–14v).

Āqā-Bābā, who was said to be the founder of the twelve dastgāh system, was from Isfahan, the capital city of the Safavid Dynasty from 1598 until the fall of the dynasty in 1736. Rajab-Ali, who was the head of the musicians at the court (Persian: Moterb-bāshi), was originally from Kerman. He accompanied Mo‘tamed-od-Dowleh, his patron, to Rasht when Mo‘tamed-od-Dowleh was appointed governor of the northern province of Gilan. Mo‘tamed-od-Dowleh was later sent to Shiraz as governor of the central province of Fars. He took Rajab-Ali with him, and Rajab-Ali died there in 1835–1836 (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 13r–13v). According to Azod-od-Dowleh, the two masters of the Shah’s bondmaid entertainers, Minā and Zohreh, were trained by Mehrāb, and Rostam from Isfahan and Shiraz, respectively (Azod-od-Dowleh 1889, 26–29); Shiraz was the former capital of the Zand Dynasty (1750–1794).

Since Āqā-Bābā is said to have established the system of the twelve dastgāh, it is necessary to speculate about his personage. The personal name of Bābā (father) and its elaborated variations of Āqā-Bābā and Khan-Bābā (Āqā and Khan: unofficial titles of dignity) were common names by the early nineteenth century. Even Fath-Ali Shah’s given name was Khan-Bābā, and he was crowned in 1797 as Fath-Ali, the name of his great grandfather. Hakim-bāshi, or the principal physician of the court, was also named Āqā-Bābā. However, it is possible that the Naqqāsh-bāshi, or the principal painter of the court, is related to the personage of Āqā-Bābā Makhmur. Naqqāsh-bāshi was also from Isfahan, and he came from the tradition of Persian painting in Isfahan. In an article on painting and painters during the Qājār era, Willem Floor tried to collect the available

biographical information on Āqā-Bābā Naqqāsh-bāshi; however, he informed the readers that "not much is known about him" (Floor 1989, 140). Floor recorded Naqqāsh-bāshi's full name as Mirzā Bābā Hoseyni Emāmi and confirmed that he was originally from Isfahan. The surname Makhmur may be a poetic pen name because, as in many other cultures, reciting poetry under a specific pen name was very common among Persians. One of the surviving artworks by Āqā-Bābā Naqqāsh-bāshi is an illuminated manuscript of Fath-Ali Shah's poems created in 1803 and presented to George IV of the United Kingdom (r. 1820–1830) when he was Prince Regent in 1812; the Shah's pen name was Khāqān (Qājār 1802). It is thus likely that Makhmur was the pen name of Āqā-Bābā Naqqāsh-bāshi, the master of painting who knew the theory and, possibly, the practice of music. While few names are mentioned as the artists who served the newly established court in Tehran, it is unlikely that two artists with the same name moved from the same city of Isfahan and served the Shah, one as the first court painter or Naqqāsh-bāshi, the other as a superior master of music who reportedly established the canon of music. However, to be sure, one must await further information that confirms this assumption.

Regretfully, the manuscripts of *The Treatise on the Twelve Dastgāh* provided details of only three dastgāh because the text was left incomplete at the beginning of the fourth dastgāh. Details of the three dastgāh were mentioned as shown in Table 9 (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 14v–15v).

Table 9: Details of the four dastgāh from the set of twelve dastgāh

Rāst Panjgāh	Darāmad of Rāst, Ruhafzā, Panjgāh, Oshshāq, Bayāt-e Ajam-e Kot, Nashib, Mansuri, Māvarā-al-Nahr, Rāk, return to Darāmad, Mobarqa', Sepehr, Esfahānak, Znguleh, Nahoft, Nowruz-e Arab, Naghmeh, Nafir, Farang, Shushtari-gardun, Abol, Chahār-mezrāb, Nowruz-e Sabā, Nowruz-e Khārā, Nowruz-e Ajam, Rāvandi, Rāvandi with the gusheh of Khojasteh, Rāvandi with the gusheh of Rāst, Rāvandi with the gusheh of Gardunieh, Rāvandi with the gusheh of Nafir, Ozzāl, Denāsori, Bayat-e Tork, Gusheh of Bidād, Bayāt-e Ajam, gusheh of Homāyun, gusheh of Shahnāz, Zanguleh, Nowruz-e Sabā, gusheh of Rāst, gusheh of Segāh sang in Bayāt-e Ajam, Mansuri, Nashib, Māvarā-al-Nahr, Shahnāz with Rāk, Rāk, return to Darāmad and the end of the dastgāh.
Navā Neshābur	Darāmad of Navā, Bozorg, gusheh of Neyriz, gusheh of Rāst Panjgāh, gusheh of Kuchak, gusheh of Rāvandi, Gardunieh, Oshshāq, Hejāz-e Farsi, gusheh of Segāh, Reng-e Armani, Masihi, Shah Khatā'i, gusheh of Bayāt-e Rāje', Naghmeh, Neshābur, gusheh from Bayāt-e Qajar in Neshābur, Delkash, Zirafkan, Shushtari-gardun, Basteh-negār, Sārhang, Mo'ālef, Amal-e Rumi, Majosli, Hoseyn, Mohayyer, Khojasteh, Qajar, Busalik, gusheh of Rāvi-ye Ozbak? Reng-e Armani, Nastāri, Khārā, Māvarā-al-Nahr, Basteh-negār, Nowruz-e Sabā, Nowruz-e Khārā, Baghdādi, Shahnāz-e Kot.
Homāyun	Darāmad of Homāyun, Salmak, Zanguleh, Nu'i, Morād-Khani, gusheh of Bidād, Nashib & Farāz, gusheh of Ozzāl, Dogāh, Gilāni, Nu'i, Nowruz-e Arab, Naghmeh, Nafir, Farang, Gardunieh, Chahār-mezrāb, Nowruz-e Sabā, Nowruz-e Khārā, Nowruz-e Ajam, Ozzāl, are sang in Nowruz-e Arab, Rāvandi, Khojasteh, Rāst, Gardunieh, gusheh of Nafir, Rāvandi, Ozzāl, Denāsori, Bayāt-e Tork, Naghmeh, Bayāt-e Ajam, gusheh of Homāyun, gusheh of Shur, Zanguleh, Nowruz-e Sabā, Nowruz-e Khārā, gusheh of Rāst, Mansuri are sang in Bayāt-e Ajam, Nashib, Māvarā-al-Nahr, Baghdādi, Shanāz-e Kot, gusheh of Ozzāl, return to Homāyun and finish.

The Twelve Stanzas by Mohtasham

This short text was purchased by Eckhard Neubauer in 1971 while he was staying in Tehran (Neubauer 2007, 301). The text presents a famous tarkib-band (composite-tie) by Mohtasham Kāshāni expressing sorrow at the martyrdom of the Shia Muslims' third Imam, Hoseyn-ebn-Ali (626–680). It has twelve sections of couplets, which each explain one of the twelve maqam (primary modes), and the text started with the title *The Twelve Dastgāh* (Twelve Dastgāh). Table 10 lists the twelve maqam (Neubauer 2007, 360–72):

Table 10: The twelve maqam-dastgāh

1. [maqam Rāvandi]	5. Maqam Navā Neshābur	9. Maqam Neyriz Navā
2. Maqam Nowruz Arab	6. Maqam Rohāb	10. Maqam Ashirān
3. Maqam Dogāh	7. Maqam Chahārgāh	11. Maqam Oshshāq Navā
4. Maqam Bayāt Ajam	8. Maqam Homāyun	12. Maqam Rāst Panjgāh

As Neubauer suggests, it was rather because of the twelve stanzas of the composite-tie that the text carries the title of *The Twelve Dastgāh* (Neubauer 2007, 303); however, it does not seem to be an authentic version of a set of twelve dastgāh. The text, which is imprecise about applying various modal terms to a certain mode, started with the title *The Twelve Dastgāh* but immediately started the first part with "The First Maqam." The two modal terms naghmeh and gusheh were also seemingly applied to various modes illogically, and they both precede each of the following modes in various sections of the text: Shur and Chakāvak (Neubauer 2007, 372), Rāvandi and Gavasht (Neubauer 2007, 371), Abolak and Khojasteh (Neubauer 2007, 371–72), Oshshāq and Navā (Neubauer 2007, 361), Mo'ālef and Nafir-Dam (Neubauer 2007, 358, 362), Basteh-Negār (Neubauer 2007, 368), Zirafkan (Neubauer 2007, 362), Bāvi (Neubauer 2007, 366), Chahārgāh (Neubauer 2007, 363–64), Mollā-Nāzi (Neubauer 2007, 365, 367), Dogāh Denāsori (Neubauer

2007, 361, 370), Feyli (Neubauer 2007, 362, 370), Pahlavi (Neubauer 2007, 361, 369), Māvarā-an-Nahr (Neubauer 2007, 365–66), Shushtari (Neubauer 2007, 366, 370), Gabri (Neubauer 2007, 364–66), Zābol (Neubauer 2007, 365, 372), and Khārā (Neubauer 2007, 366–67).

Although the use of modal terms in the text was imprecise, the text compiled a comprehensive list of Persian modes. Moreover, comparing the twelve maqam with the twelve dastgāh attributed to Āqā Bābā Makhmur shows that their lists share eight names: Rāst Panjgāh, Nava & Neshābur, Homāyun, Rohāb, Chahārgāh, Dogāh, Ashirān, Neyriz. Last, the information on the Persian modes was inserted between the lines of a long poem, which convincingly indicated that the purpose of compiling the text was to sing the modes and not play them on an instrument. This text thus provides a vocal version of the Persian music system.

Additional Accounts on the Dastgāh System

Besides the aforementioned accounts that explained a dastgāh system in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, two collections of songs from the nineteenth century provide information on the Persian music system. The mode in which the tasnif (rhythmic vocal pieces) should be sung was indicated alongside the lyrics for two collections of tasnif. The first collection of tasnif, which is preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, names several modes including Mansuri, Nowruz Arab, Shahnāz, Āzarbāyjāni, Feyli, Shur Shahnāz (Anon. 997 n.d., fol. 64r, 64v, 66r, 67r).[1] The manuscript was brought to Europe by Polish orientalist Aleksander Chodźko (1804–1891), who stated that the songs were sung to him by the musicians at the court of Fath-Ali Shah, namely Chālānchi Khan, Molla Karim, and Rajab-Ali Khan (Chodźko 1842, 417). Although the manuscript did not include the entire music system, having a few mode names that were performed by the court musicians of Fath-Ali Shah is valuable because it reflects the practice of music in the early nineteenth century.

The second collection of songs is preserved at the library of the Iranian Parliament and seems to have been scribed in the late nineteenth century. The manuscript registers the following modes: […] āvāz Shekasteh; dastgāh Shur, Shahnāz, Bayāt, Bayāt Kord; dastgāh Homāyun, Ney-Dāvud, Shushtari, Hejāz; dastgāh Nowruz Arab, Erāq, Rāvandi; Navā, Bayāt; Shur, Hoseyn, Khārā; Tork, Māhur, and Āzarbāyjāni (Anon. 101 1870, 1, 5, 6, 12, 14, 16, 19–21, 28, 29, 31).[2] Similar to the previous collection of songs from Fath-Ali Shah's era, the second collection provides the names of modes that were performed by the court musicians of Nāser-od-Din Shah, which therefore reflects the practice of music in the late nineteenth century.

[1] For a printed version see (Mohammadi 2015, 36–80).

[2] For a printed version see (Mohammadi 2015, 156–88).

Conclusion to Part II

While Part I deals with the emergence of the twelve dastgāh as the dominant interpretation of the Persian music system in the literature of musicology and ethnomusicology, Part II presents a historical survey of the previous systems of Persian music and shows how the concept of the dastgāh emerged in its native context as a result of developing multimodal performance suites.

The earliest documentation of a mode set in Persian music is a set of seven modes titled Rāh-hā-ye Khosrawāni, which was attributed to Bārbad, the legendary musician at the court of King Khosraw II Parviz. It is noteworthy that the legend of Bārbad and his set of seven modes survived as a myth in the oral knowledge of Persian music for more than six hundred years to appear in a Persian musical text by Mohammad Nishāburi in the thirteenth century.

Nishāburi's contemporary, Ali-Shah Bokhāri, dedicated a section of his book on the astronomical divination to the knowledge of music, in which he explained the system of Persian music as a set of seven primary modes and a set of seven secondary modes, which each derived from a primary mode. Since he mentioned Nishāburi in his book and Nishāburi had written down the oral myth of Bārbad and his set of seven modes, it is unclear whether Bokhāri took that myth as a pattern and constructed a set of seven modes or whether he wrote down a system that existed in oral tradition.

Two other musicians from the thirteenth century wrote two accounts of the Persian music system each based on one bigger set of twelve modes and one smaller set of six modes. Although both versions described two sets with the same number of modes, the details within the two versions differed. Mohammad Nishāburi used a Persian musical term, pardeh, to refer to the twelve modes, while Ormavi referred to the twelve modes as *dawr*, an Arabic term for cycle, which was used in the title of his book *Ketāb-ol-Advār* (*The Book of the Cycles*). Furthermore, while Nishāburi stated that the set of six modes derived from the set of twelve modes, and perhaps that was the reason for using the Arabic term sho'beh to refer to the six modes, Ormavi used a Persian musical term, āvāz, to refer to the set of six modes.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Ormavi's books were widely used by the authors of musical texts in Persian and Arabic. Ormavi's account of the music system became the dominant version while Nishāburi's account was ignored. There are several reasons for Ormavi's popularity among the authors of later musical texts. First, Ormavi used a presumably accurate and mathematical method to describe theoretical positions of each fret on a monochord, and he used the same method to explain musical intervals as well as their accordant and discordant combinations. Second, Ormavi was the first author to produce a lengthy book on music, which was comparable to Fārābi's seminal book, and he challenged Fārābi on several theoretical themes in that book (Ormavi 1268, fol. 4r–4v). Last, Ormavi was part of the network of power in Baghdad; he was Caliph al-Musta'sim's private librarian and chief musician, and he later served the Jovayni Family, the administrators of Baghdad appointed by Hülegü Khan (*c.* 1217–1265), the grandson of Genghis Khan (1162–1227), and the founder of Ilkhanid Dynasty (1256–1335). Thus, Ormavi's music system became the dominant knowledge of music that reappeared in most of the subsequent musical texts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Among the few concepts that were added to Ormavi's system was a category of excluded modes named sho'beh. Qotb-od-Din Shirazi was the first author to mention some sho'beh, and Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi provided the first description of a set of twenty-four sho'beh. However, two contradictory systems by Ormavi's contemporary writers and contradictions within Ormavi's system led to the conclusion that Ormavi's system was largely a symbolic classification.

The system of six āvāz, twelve maqām, and twenty-four sho'beh was transmitted to the authors of musical texts in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, who, in turn, added a set of forty-eight gusheh and derivational relations between each of the modes of a smaller set to two of the modes from the bigger group. Therefore, two maqam derived from each āvāz, two sho'beh derived from each maqam, and two gusheh derived from each sho'beh. It is impossible that such a perfect binary derivational relation between four classes of modes could have a modal or structural basis in purely performance-based experiences; rather, it appears a systematization of a much more complex musical reality. Even one of the influential authors of the sixteenth century rejected such a perfect binary derivational relation and provided contradictory examples (Kowkabi 1983, 18–19).

While Ormavi's music system was being established by his followers, a concept of modulation emerged and evolved into a concept of multimodal performance instructions. Although Ormavi illustrated shared notes among twelve modes on a graph of twelve concentric circles, Qotb-od-Shirazi was the first to write about the structural connections between the modes in a way that could be used in the modulations. Arranging Shirazi's concept of proximity between the modes, his table in Figure 14 shows that the two modes of Hoseyni and Dogāh had more relations with the remaining modes; thus, it would be reasonable to name that table Dogāh & Hoseyni.

Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi applied Shirazi's concept of proximity of the modes to Ormavi's approach of using the set of twelve modes as the basis of the discussion. Hence, he provided a list of proximate modes for each of the twelve maqam, a concept similar to a preliminary version of multimodal performance centered around a certain mode. Eventually, the first version of modulation instructions appeared in seventeenth-century musical texts, and they included four major groups of proximate modes centered around the four modes of Rāst, Dogāh, Segāh, and Chahārgāh. The four groups were established in the eighteenth century as the four shad, each of which was comparable with its previous counterparts, and all four were named after their central mode, although the modulation instruction around Segāh was named Mokhālef. The substantial development was to incorporate an advised order for performing the modes sequentially. For the modulation instructions, the conjunction (and) that connected various modes in each group might be interpreted as an implied advised order for performing the modes, whereas the shad included clear advice for performing the modes in a multimodal performance.

The common version of the four shad included Rāst, Dogāh, Mokhālef, and Chahārgāh, but at least one different version included Navā & Neshāburak, Dogāh & Hoseyni, Rāst & Panjgāh, and Mokhālef & Erāq. Although the details of those four shad were not presented, the name Dogāh & Hoseyni resembled Qotb-od-Din Shirazi's table of proximity of modes, and it was comparable to Dogāh in the common version; Rāst & Panjgāh and Mokhālef & Erāq were similarly comparable to Rāst and Mokhālef from the common version. Considering a few more titles that appeared in later musical texts, a combined list of shad names includes Rāst & Panjgāh, Dogāh & Hoseyni, Mokhālef & Erāq, Chahārgāh & Mokhālef, Navā & Neshābur, Nowruz, Māhur, Shahnāz, Bayāt-e Qajar, and Denāsori.

The term dastgāh appeared in a few musical texts in the eighteenth century to indicate whether a mode contained sufficient dastgāh to compose songs. Dastgāh was subsequently established as the new title for the groups of multimodal performances in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Unlike shad and its predecessor, no substantial difference existed between dastgāh and its predecessor, the shad. A dastgāh was generally a developed and established version of a shad. An early account of the four shad presented Hoseyni & Segāh, Rāst & Panjgāh, Homāyun & Dogāh, and Chahārgāh & Mokhālef, while another account presented the four main shad as Chahārgāh, Rāst, Navā, and Rohāb. Finally, a set of twelve dastgāh was established in the early nineteenth century as Rāst Panjgāh, Nava & Neshābur, Homāyun, Māhur, Rohāb, Shur Shahnāz, Chahārgāh, Segāh, Dogāh, Zābol, Ashirān, and Neyriz. The set of twelve dastgāh had a close connection with the shad because seven of the twelve dastgāh were related to seven of the shad: the five dastgāh—Rāst Panjgāh, Nava & Neshābur, Māhur, Chahārgāh, and Dogāh—were previously mentioned as shad; Shur Shahnāz existed as Shahnāz; and Segāh was the central mode of the third modulation instruction, which was later named Mokhālef. The set of twelve dastgāh had an even closer connection to the set of seven dastgāh that was eventually established in the early twentieth century: all seven dastgāh were contained within the set of twelve dastgāh.

Apart from two song-text collections that registered modes of a few songs—a song-text from the early nineteenth century and a song-text from the late nineteenth century—one more account registered modes under verses of an elegy expressing the sorrow at the martyrdom of the Shia Muslims' third Imam. While the title *The Twelve Dastgāh* appeared on the first page of the manuscript, the term dastgāh was never repeated in the text, even though the poem was arranged as a set of twelve mode-collections. The text might have been arranged as twelve parts because the elegy was recited in twelve strophes. The credibility of that text as an original or authentic version of dastgāh is doubtful and leads to the conclusion that the text was likely a personal account of using modes in a religious vocal performance. However, the text had an addendum entitled "The Names of the Assorted āvāz-hā," which provided a list of modes that were left out of the twelve collections.

The appearance of the term of Āvāz-hā in the last text is important because, as I shall demonstrate in Part III, āvāz was the general term to refer to the modes of Persian music in the

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While dastgāh was a multimodal performance suite containing several modes performed around a central mode with an advised order, āvāz referred to the individual modes of Persian music.

Part III: Āvāz as the Modal Entity of Persian Music in the Nineteenth Century

Introduction to Part III

This part is dedicated to exploring āvāz as a modal term in Persian music in the nineteenth century. Chapter 7 explores Persian writings in the nineteenth century, including musical and non-musical writings. The first section shows how the term āvāz was used by authors of musical writings to refer to modes in general. Most of the musical texts discussed here—*Bahjat-or-Qolub*, *The Treatise on the Twelve Dastgāh*, and *The Twelve Stanzas by Mohtasham*—were previously used in Chapter 6 to discuss the establishment of the dastgāh; however, a few anonymous texts are also introduced. The second section of the chapter explores non-musical writings such as Persian travel accounts and other Persian texts including a newspaper, a literary text, and a travel account by a European traveler.

Chapter 8 incorporates alternative sources and starts by returning to Alfred Lemaire's note to his publication of Persian music, *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans*, in which āvāz was the most repeated word. The first catalog of Persian shellac records published by the Gramophone Company in 1906 is also examined because almost all of the Persian modes appearing on the Gramophone disc labels were accompanied by the term āvāz. The third source is a manuscript by Mirza Shafi, which I purchased in Iran in 2004. Although it presents a slightly different version of the seven dastgāh, as it has dastgāh Dogāh instead of dastgāh Navā, it states that each dastgāh consists of several āvāz, and it uses āvāz within the text to explain various parts of a dastgāh. The last source of this chapter is *Bohur-ol-Alhān*, which is the first published Persian text on music. Although this source explains the dominant narration of the seven dastgāh, it frequently uses āvāz to refer to the modes. The main body of *Bohur-ol-Alhān* is a collection of poems that should be sung in an advised mode, and most of the modes are accompanied by the term āvāz.

Chapter 9 focuses on the first Persian publications of music by the new generation of authors who were acquainted with the European theory of music:

- Ali-Naqi Vaziri (1887–1979), the first Iranian musician who tried to incorporate Persian music with the European harmonic system, tonality, and polyphony.

- Ruhollah Khaleqi (1906–1965), who produced publications on Persian music in that period.
- Mehdi-Qoli Hedāyat (1863–1955), an aristocrat and musicophile, who tried to combine European music theory and music acoustics with the Islamic traditional discourses on music to explain the contemporary Persian music.

All three authors used āvāz widely as a modal term; therefore, instances of using āvāz are categorized based on the context and presented in separate tables, which each feature a certain theme: (1) using āvāz as a general term for modes, (2) using āvāz to refer to Persian modes in general, (3) using āvāz to refer to ancient Persian modes or even European modes, and (4) using āvāz to refer to specific Persian modal entities including the seven dastgāh. A long quotation provided for each theme shows how āvāz was used in that context.

Part III attempts to understand the modal system of Persian music as the native Persians understood it in the nineteenth century. This part focuses on the term āvāz which, as the various sources show, was the native term for Persian modes prior to the establishment of the modern interpretations in the mid-twentieth century.

Chapter 7: Āvāz in Persian Writings Prior to 1900

Musical Writings Prior to 1900

Āvāz[1] has been used to refer to certain modes for almost a thousand years. Although it might not be possible to trace it back to its first use in the oral tradition, its first written appearance as a modal term was in a thirteenth-century musical text by Safi-od-Din Ormavi (d. 1294). According to Ormavi, common modes were classified into a set of twelve *dawr* and six āvāz. In the tenth chapter of his *Ketāb-ol-Advār* compiled in Arabic, Ormavi wrote the following about the common *advār* (cycles, whole octave) among the musicians:

> Some of the advār are called āvāzah, […] and, as for the āvāzāt [plural of āvāz], there are six: Gavāsht, […] and Gardāniyā, […] and Salmak, […] and Nawruz, […] and Māyah, […] and Shahnāz.[2] (Ormavi n.d., fol. 8r)

Another Persian writer from the thirteenth century used āvāz as a general term to refer to the modes. Ali-Shah Bokhāri (b. *ca.* 1226) included a section on music in his book on the astronomical divination, *Ashjār va Asmār* (A.-S. Bokhāri 1289, 256–60). Although Bokhāri was not a professional musician, he learned to sing from a bootmaker who was also a Moqri, a Quran reciter, and he started singing at Sufi gatherings at the age of seventeen (A.-S. Bokhāri 1289, 252). As mentioned in Chapter 4, Bokhāri classified Persian modes as a set of fourteen modes divided into two sets of seven primary pardeh and seven derivative pardeh. He added a brief explanation about the fourteen modes in which he used both terms of pardeh and āvāz interchangeably to refer

[1] The literal meaning of Āvāz is sound (Johnson 1852, 182). Āvāz and āvāzeh (or āvāzah) are two variations of the same term and they have been used interchangeably in various musical texts in Persian and Arabic. This research study uses āvāz; however, direct quotations will contain the term used in the original text. It is difficult to realize which variant is used if the term appears in a text in plural form only, as in pre-modern style of Persian writing the letter h at the end of the word could be merged with the letter h in the suffix hā. That means the plural forms of both āvāz and āvāzeh could be written as āvāz-hā.

[2] «و بعض الادوار اسمه آوازه [...] فامّا الآوازات فهی ست: گواشت، [...] و گردانیا [...] و سلمک [...] و نوروز [...] و اما مایه [...] و کذلک شهناز.»

to the fourteen principal modes and the extra modes (A.-S. Bokhāri 1289, 258–59). By doing so, he registered pardeh and āvāz as general terms for modes. After mentioning the fourteen pardeh, he stated that "apart from those fourteen principal [modes], there are a few extra āvāz [that are] limited," and he referred to the same fourteen principal modes as "principal āvāz" and referred to the limited modes as "limited pardeh." He then used āvāz again to refer to the extra modes and mentioned pardeh and āvāz together as "limited pardeh and limited āvāz" to refer to the extra modes that were limited:

> Apart from those fourteen principal [modes], there are a few more āvāz [that are] limited, such as Nowruzak [and] Mokhālef and Hejāz and Sāzgari and Mādeh and Sepehri and the higher range of the [fourteen] principal āvāz, and whatever that is arisen from combining them [the fourteen modes]. Then, it is difficult to make compositions in [those] limited pardeh, unless they are mixed with one of the fourteen principal [modes] … but the recent [musicians] have altered the names and terms and have derived other āvāz by mixing these [fourteen] principal [modes] … however, knowing the limited pardeh and the limited āvāz is by [playing] the instruments and lots of practice. (A.-S. Bokhāri 1289, 258–59)[1]

During the fourteenth and fifteenth century, Ormavi's discourses were extensively quoted and described by the musicians who compiled the major musical texts in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish. A glance at catalogs of musical texts in Persian, Arabic, and Turkish shows that Ormavi's concise book, *Ketāb-ol-Advār*, was repeatedly translated and commentated (Shiloah 1979, 2003; Massoudieh 1996; Şeşen et al. 2003). Abd-ol-Qāder Marāghi (d. 1435), for instance, produced two books, *Maqāsed-ol-Alhān* and *Jāme-ol-Alhān*, based on Ormavi's discourses, and he also produced a Persian translation and commentary on *Ketāb-ol-Advār* (A.-Q. Marāghi 1418, 1987, n.d.). Marāghi quoted Ormavi's words on the six āvāz and added comments (A.-Q. Marāghi 1418, fol. 44r). As mentioned in Chapter 4, āvāz was used continuously throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In addition, a symbolic binary relationship was established between the set of six āvāz and the set of twelve maqām.

[1] «اما بعد ازین چهارده اصل چند آواز دیگر هست نازک، چون نوروز مخالفک و حجاز و سازگری و ماده و سیهری و تیزی آوازهای اصل و آنچه از ترکیبات این همه خیزد. پس در پرده‌های تنگ تصنیف دشوار دست دهد، مگر از آن چهارده اصل یکی با فرع درآمیزند ... اما متأخران این اسامی و اصطلاحات را گردانیده‌اند و آوازهای دیگر تخریج کرده از تمزیج این اصل‌ها ... اما معرفت پرده‌های تنگ و آوازهای نازک به‌سازها باشد و کثرت استعمال.»

The fall of the Safavid Dynasty (1502–1736) resulted in decades of rebellion and anarchy, and quite rarely was a musical text composed between the fall of the Safavids (1736) and the establishment of the Qājārs (1794–1925). By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the production of musical texts in Persian resumed after the consolidation of the Qājārs, āvāz was used as a common term to refer to modes. *Bahjat-ol-Qolub* was apparently compiled by an unknown author or musician who introduced himself in the introduction as Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi (Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, n.d., fol. 21r). I obtained copies of two manuscripts of that text. One is preserved at the Library of the Iranian Parliament and is undated (Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, n.d.), and the other is preserved at the Azerbaijan National Library in Baku and is dated Wednesday, January 28, 1818, at the city of Kashan in south-east of Tehran (Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi 1818, fol. 53r). Based on the content of the book and the style of handwriting, I concluded that *Bahjat-ol-Qolub* was compiled in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century. More specifically, the didactic diagram for performing four dastgāh (Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, n.d., fol. 57v) is related to the few texts that were compiled during the early nineteenth century and provided information on a set of dastgāh (Anon. 9957 1839; Anon. 3536 n.d.). Along with the common discourses that were mainly borrowed from the seventeenth-century treatise, *Bahjat al-Ruh*, Shirazi included various discourses related to his time. The following quotations show the use of āvāz to refer to modes in general (Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, n.d.).

On the instruments:

> (1)[1] On this instrument, for any āvāzeh that he plays, he should find its counterpart in a low pitch on that [instrument]. (fol. 45v)[2]
>
> (2, 3) On the other instruments, for each āvāzeh that he wants to play, he should start from the same āvāzeh. (fol. 45v)[3]

[1] Instances of using āvāz as a modal term are numbered to show the total number of such instances.

[۲] «در این ساز هر آوازه ای که بنوازد، مطلوب آن را در بم آن پیدا کنند.»

[۳] «در سازهای دیگر باید که هر آوازه ای که خواهد بنوازد، از همان آوازه درآمد نماید.»

(4) Its frets should be examined so that they are not moved up and down; otherwise, the āvāzeh becomes spoiled. (fol. 46r-46v)[1]

Advice to musicians:

(5) When he wants to recognize morakkabāt [mixed tones], he should first distinguish what is produced from each āvāzeh. (fol. 48v)[2]

(6) If he enters an assembly and they want him to sing an āvāzeh to examine his knowledge, he should sing what they have asked. (fol. 48v-49r)[3]

(7) The master of this art [of melody] should challenge the master of the art of rhythm and should have knowledge about it all the time because rhythm is part of the āvāzeh. (fol. 49r)[4]

(8, 9) [The skills of] the practice would also be two: first, being well skilled in going from one āvāzeh to another āvāzeh, but not going out of the āhang [tune]. (fol. 49r)[5]

On the concept of shad:[6]

(10) It is necessary to know the time to perform these shad so that it would not be out of Osul [regulations, rhythm] and āvāzeh and āhang [tune]. (fol. 50r)[7]

(11, 12) The third Shad is Panjgāh, which is attributed to Hystaspes[8] who had composed five āvāzeh; he would play them at five times during the day. When this

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[1] «پرده های آن را ملاحظه بایست نمود که پرده ها ی آن پیش و پس نشود که نقص در آوازه به هم می رسد.»

[2] «چون خواهد که تشخیص مرکبات کند، بایست اول تشخیص بدهد که این آوازه چه چیز از آن حاصل می شود.»

[3] «چون در مجمعی وارد شود و آوازه ای از آن خواهش نمایند که بخواند و خواسته باشند که قوهٔ ادراک او را بفهمند و بدانند، بایست آنچه خواهش نمایند همان را بخواند.»

[4] «وصیت دیگر آن که صاحب این فن با صاحب فن ضرب دست و گریبان باید باشد و دایم از اوقات در اصطلاح آن ربط داشته باشد که ضرب جزو آوازه است.»

[5] «عملی نیز بر دو قسم است: اول تصرف در آوازه ای به آوازه ای رفتن و خارج نکردن آهنگ آن.»

[6] A multimodal performance set containing a group of modes that were performed in a certain order; See Chapter 5.

[7] «بیاید دانست که اوقات ادای این شدها چه جایگاهست که خارج از اصول و آوازه و آهنگ نباشد.»

[8] Mythological king of Persia who was patron of Zoroaster (Shapour Shahbazi 2012).

āvāzeh came to the hands of the masters of the knowledge, they combined them and named it Panjgāh. (fol. 50r)[1]

On recognizing modes:

(13) If we relate all the āvāzeh [modes] [to each other], it will preclude us from [discussing] our subject. (fol. 50v)[2]

(14) Most of these āvāzeh-hā should be understood by allusion. (fol. 55vb-56r)[3]

On modulation:

(15, 16, 17) The desired of the āvāzeh-hā should be known; that is, those which are desirous to another, so that the āhang [tune] does not go out of tune and does not become two āvāzeh. And for the opposing others, they should bring them close in a certain manner by mediating another āvāzeh. (fol. 56r)[4]

(18, 19) When singing, they should notice that they should employ any āvāzeh that accedes and play it elegantly, and not sing an āvāzeh constrainedly. (fol. 56r)[5]

The copy of *Bahjat-ol-Qolub* that I cite here added another musical text, *Kerāmieh*, at the end, which was followed by *The Treatise on Music* by Mohammad Qazvini. This was followed by another musical writing, which listed dozens of common modes among the performing musicians. Although the list included many of the traditional twelve primary modes (pardeh, maqam) and twenty-four secondary modes (sho'beh), they were all introduced as āvāz, both at the beginning and at the end of the list:

[1] «شد سیم پنجگاه می باشد که منسوبست به گشتاسب که خود پنج آوازه ترکیب کرده بود، روزی پنج وقت ازین شبانه روز مشغول صحبت بود. چون این آوازه به دست اهل علم افتاد ترکیب کردند و پنجگاه نامیدند.»

[2] «هرگاه خواهیم مجموع آوازه را نسبت دهیم، از مطلب باز مانیم.»

[3] «اکثر این آوازه ها را از کنایه بایست فهمید.»

[4] «بایست مطلوب آوازه ها را شناخت که کدام یک طالب یکدیگرند که آهنگ خارج و دو آوازه نشود، و دیگر آنهایی که خلاف یکدیگر هستند بایست به نوع خاص به وساطت آوازه ای آنها را با هم یکدیگر یار کرد.»

[5] «بایست که در وقت خواندن ملاحظه نمود که هر یک آوازه ای که تن در می دهد به نیکویی او را استعمال کنند، نه آنکه بخواهند مجبوراً آوازه ای بخوانند.»

(20, 21) The terminology of the masters of the instruments [performing musicians] has many differences with the terminology of the masters of the knowledge [writers of music]. Because for the names of the āvāzeh-hā, the masters of instruments have invented a name for each according to their own terminology, which will be listed […] up to one thousand and one āvāzeh.[1] (Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, n.d., fol. 73v–74v)

Finally, the last page of *Bahjat-ol-Qolub*'s manuscript ends with an incomplete opening phrase in which āvāzeh was again used to refer to the mode in general:

(22) On explaining that each āvāzeh that exists in this noble knowledge and elegant art [of music], it has a name and usage according to the language [terminology] of the masters of knowledge [writers], and it also has a name and usage according to the language [terminology] of the masters of instruments [performing musicians]. I stated in this treatise so that it becomes easy for beginners and they acquire some knowledge.[2] (Safarchi, n.d., fol. 81r)

The last two quotations referred to the difference between the common terminology of the writers and the performers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Theoretical discussions were mainly borrowed from the texts that were compiled hundreds of years ago, as a comparison of the content of *Bahjat-ol-Qolub* and *Bahjat-or-Ruh* shows.[3] However, it was likely that the practice of music would have fundamental differences with the borrowed theoretical discourses from centuries ago.

The following musical text, *The Treatise on the Twelve Dastgāh*, borrowed most of its content from *Bahjat-ol-Qolub*, or perhaps authors of both texts borrowed the content from a

[1] «اصطلاح اهل ساز با اهل علم اختلاف دارد بسیار. از آنکه اهل ساز اسامی آوازه ها را هر یک به اصطلاح خودشان اسمی از برای آن اختراع کرده اند که ذکر آن خواهد شد [...] و علی هذا القیاس تا هزار و یک آوازه.»

[2] «در بیان آن که هر آوازه ای که در این علم شریف و فن لطیف هست، هر یک به زبان اهل علم اسمی دارد و رسمی، و به زبان اهل ساز هم اسمی دارد و رسمی. حقیر در این رساله ایراد نمودم تا بر مبتدیان آسان باشد و ربطی به هم رسانند.»

[3] The author of *Bahjat-or-Ruh* fabricated a name for himself as Abd-ol-Mo'men ebn-e Safi-od-Din ebn-e Qābus ebn-e Voshmgir, which could make readers confuse him with the celebrated Safi-od-Din Abd-ol-Mo'men Ormavi and consider him a descendant of the Persian ruler, Qābus ebn-e Voshmgir, which would presumably add value to his text (Ebn Safi-od-Din 1636, 116). The Author of *Bahjat-ol-Qolub*, who introduced himself as Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, borrowed a big portion of his text from *Bahjat-or-Ruh* in a way that even the fake name of Abd-ol-Mo'men ebn-e Safi-od-Din ebn-e Qābus ebn-e Voshmgir was included in his text as the author (Abd-ol-Hoseyn Shirazi, n.d., fol. 22r, 22v).

common source. The older copy of *The Treatise on the Twelve Dastgāh* has an addendum at the end, which contains valuable information about the court musicians in Tehran and a brief description of the twelve dastgāh; the addendum was written in 1839. Since this manuscript is the oldest known dated text that includes information on the twelve dastgāh, I refer to it as *The Treatise on the Twelve Dastgāh* (Mohammadi 2013). The main text repeated sentences from *Bahjat-ol-Qolub,* which used āvāz as a general term to refer to modes:

> (7*)[1] Without completing and applying the technique of the rhythm, or without knowing the details and subtleties of it, the master of the art of music would not be the master of this art, and he will not be able to fulfil this matter because rhythm is part of the āvāzeh. (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 13r)[2]

> (8*, 9*) For the practice of that knowledge [music], two matters would be requisite: first, going from one āvāzeh to another āvāzeh, but not going out of the āhang [tune]. (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 13r)[3]

While *The Treatise on the Twelve Dastgāh* repeated quotations (20) and (21) of *Bahjat-ol-Qolub*, including the list of dozens of āvāz, it also explained the contradiction between the theoretical texts and actual performances:

> (20*, 23, 24, 25, 26, 21*) The terminology of the masters of the instruments [performing musicians] has many differences with the terminology of the masters of the knowledge [writers on music] because the masters of the instruments have named each of the āvāzeh-hā according to their own terminology. […] Moreover, there is also a difference between the instruments. As mentioned, some of the āvāzeh-hā should be played at a high pitch on some instruments, while the same āvāz should be played at a low pitch on other instruments; this is also a reason behind the difference. Because of these differences, they dispute the names of the

[1] The asterisk shows that this instance of using āvāz have been copied from previously cited texts; hence, it has the same number of the previous appearance.

[۲] «صاحب فنّ موسیقی بی استکمال و استعمال فنّ ضرب و یا عدم اطلاع بر نکات و دقایق آن، صاحب این فن نیست، و از عهدهٔ این امر بر نمی آید. زیرا که ضرب جزو آوازه است.»

[۳] «در عمل آن علم دو چیز شرط است: اوّل از آوازه ای به آوازهٔ دیگر رفتن و خارج نکردن آهنگ آن.»

> āvāzeh-hā. […] The following are the names of the āvāzeh-hā according to the terminology of the masters of the instrument […] up to one thousand and one āvāzeh.[1] (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 6v–7r)

The addendum to *The Treatise on the Twelve Dastgāh* also used āvāz as a general term. Criticizing an individual, who had apparently received credit as a musician, the writer of the addendum stated:

> (27) He himself was a huckster who, in the time of the exalted to heaven Emperor [Fath-Ali Shah (d.1834)], found an excuse to sell chintz and muslin and sewing vesture and apparel, and has entered the assembly of the masters of this art, and has accidentally heard some of the names of the āvāzeh-hā. (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 13r)[2]

According to Eckhard Neubauer, another text that used āvāz as a general term was likely written in the second half of the nineteenth century or early twentieth century (Neubauer 2007, 302). This text is a didactic list of various modes that sets a religious poem to music. The main lists used various terms to refer to the modes. For instance, dastgāh appeared at the top of the first page as the title of the text, explaining that the text would list the twelve dastgāh. However, immediately after the title, the text started with the details of the first set, which was introduced as "the First Maqam" (Neubauer 2007, 372). Maqam was used to refer to the primary modes, and for the main body of the text, naghmeh referred to secondary modes, while tarkib, sho'beh, and gusheh referred to the modes within each naghmeh.

Although the text used specific terms to refer to various modes, the use of the modal terms had a repetitive pattern, which casts doubt on the writer's intentional use of repeated terms. Following a repetitive pattern, all secondary modes were preceded by naghmeh and most of them were followed by an explanatory phrase of "with tarkibāt and sho'bejāt" or "with tarkibāt with sho'bejāt" to indicate that there were other pieces to be performed within most of the modes. It is difficult to determine to what extent the writer intentionally used a certain modal term; however,

[1] «اصطلاح اهل ساز با اهل علم اختلاف بسیار دارد، زیرا که اهل ساز آوازه ها را هر یک به اصطلاح خود اسمی نهاده اند [...] علاوه بر این در سازها نیز اختلاف هست. چنان که گفته شد، بعضی آوازه ها را در بعضی سازها در بلندی می باید نواخت، که همان آواز را در ساز دیگر به ضرورت در پستی می نوازند. این نیز یک جهت اختلاف است. پس به علّت این اختلافات در اسامی آوازه ها اختلاف می کنند [...] اسامی آوازه ها به اصطلاح اهل ساز این است [...] تا هزار و یک آوازه.»

[2] «این خود مردی چرچی بود که در عهد خاقان خلد آشیان به دستاویز فروختن جیبت و کرباس و دوختن رخت و لباس به مجلس ارباب این فن راه یافته احیاناً چیزی از اسامی آوازه ها شنیده است.»

he used āvāz in his addendum to list the rest of the modes that were not included in the twelve sets. The excluded modes were listed under the title:

> (28, 29, 30) "The Names of the Assorted āvāz-hā," and "the Assorted āvāz-hā" appeared again in the middle of the page and on another page after a description of maqam Homāyun (Neubauer 2007, 359, 365).

Āvāz was used in various musical texts that were composed during the nineteenth century. An anonymous treatise, which was mainly copied from previous discourses, replaced the term pardeh, which referred to the principal modes with āvāzeh (Anon. 5180 1659, 504). The eighth chapter was dedicated to the discourse on extending each pardeh [mode], a discourse about which several musical texts had previously dedicated a chapter. One of the previous texts titled the chapter as, "On that what happens if you extend or tone down a pardeh [mode]"[1] (Anon. 5180 1659, 504), and the chapter in the twentieth-century text was titled:

> (31) On Extending and Reducing the āvāz-hā [modes][2] (Anon. 6813 1877, fol. 99r).

A certain Mohammad-Ali Garakāni also used āvāz to explain the Indian raga and considered āvāz the equivalent of the Indian modal term raga:

> (32) they call āvāzeh rāg[3] (Garakāni, n.d., 89).

The last text in this section is a copy of a short anonymous text, which survives in several copies (Anon. 9992 n.d., fol. 58v–65r).[4] It was common in the musical texts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to include a circle in which all the modes were listed according to their symbolic binary relations (see Chapter 4, Section 3). While the original text included a typical circle at the end, the copyist added another circle, which listed contemporary modes with no modal relation or classification. In the center of the circle, he introduced himself as "Mohammad-Bāqer pen-named Bahā, the son of the Late Ziā, the compiler of the comprehensive circle of music

[1] «فصل دهم در آنکه هر پرده زیاد کنی و نرم برگیری چه شود.»

[2] «مقام هشتم در کم و زیاد کردن آوازها.»

[3] «آوازه را راک گویند.»

[4] A few copies have been cataloged in RISM series, see (Massoudieh 1996, 272–74).

[modes]" (Anon. 9992 n.d., fol. 65v).[1] Mohammad-Bāqer pen-named Bahā was a lesser known Muslim preacher and poet from Isfahan, who was born around 1840 and passed away around 1898 (Rajaee Zafarehi 1976, 41; Mohaddes-zadeh et al. 2005, 2:81). Therefore, the supplemental table was most likely written in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and certainly before his death in 1898. Bahā's copy was also copied, and as a note on the preceding folio revealed, it was supposed to be sent to "professor Marr" by his son "doctor Marr" (Anon. 9992 n.d., fol. 57r). Yuri Nikolaevich Marr (1893–1935) was the son of the well-known Georgian linguist, archaeologist, and ethnographer, Nikolaĭ Yakovlevich Marr (1864-1934). In 1926, Yuri Marr returned from his research trip to Tehran, which had lasted more than a year (Mirzoyan 1985, 192), suggesting that the new copy must have been produced around 1926. Nevertheless, the circle of contemporary modes dates back to the late nineteenth century before Mohammad-Bāqer Bahā's death in 1898.

The note which revealed Bahā's intention of sending the copy to "professor Marr" starts as follows (Anon. 9992 n.d.):

> (33) This booklet is by my son Ahmad regarding the names of the āvāz-hā-ye Irani (fol. 57r).[2]

The text started with the following title:

> (34) āvāz-hā-ye Irani (fol. 58v).[3]

The supplemental circle of mode names was added at the end of the text, starting with an introduction to Mohammad-Bāqer Bahā, which was followed by the following note:

> (35, 36, 37) The names of the āvāz-hā, which are on the verso of the leaf, are common among the musicians of this time; additionally, these āvāz-hā, which are common and well known are besides the previous āvāz-hā [mentioned on the recto] (fol. 65v).[4]

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[1] «محمدباقر المتخلص به بهاء ابن مرحوم ضیاء جامع دایره موسیقی.»

[2] «این جزوه به خط فرزندی احمد خان است در خصوص اسامی آوازهای ایرانی.»

[3] «آوازهای ایرانی.»

[4] «اسامی آوازها که در ظهر ورق است، معمولّ به موسیقیدان‌های این زمان است، بعلاوه این آوازها که معروف و مشهور و غیر آوازهای سابق است.»

The quotations from *Bahjat-ol-Qolub* and *The Treatise on the Twelve Dastgāh*, Neubauer's manuscript, and Mohammad-Bāqer's circle of mode names indicate the use of āvāz for referring to the modes in general. Those four manuscripts were among the few instances of musical texts composed between the late eighteenth century and the early twentieth century, when the first Persian musical texts were published. As those manuscripts showed, āvāz was a general term used for modes among Persian musicians or writers who had sufficient knowledge to write about Persian music. However, using āvāz as a general term for modes contradicted the traditional writings on the knowledge of music because the traditional writings were based on the system of twelve primary modes, pardeh or maqam, and six secondary modes, āvāz; this had been altered to a binary division of six āvāz, twelve pardeh or maqam, twenty-four sho'beh, and forty-eight gusheh during the era of the Safavid Dynasty (see Chapter 4). Notably, the last quotations from *Bahjat-ol-Qolub*, quotations 20 to 22, which were repeated and extended in *The Treatise on the Twelve Dastgāh*, referred to the differences between the terminology of the performing musicians and the writers on music.

Non-Musical Writings Prior to 1900

As Persia resumed political relationships with the European powers in the early nineteenth century, Persian envoys were sent to Europe. Abol-Hasan Shirazi better known as Ilchi (1776–1845) was among the first Persian envoys sent to Britain in 1809 and 1818, and to Russia in 1815. The stories of the first journeys to London and Russia were produced as diaries. The diary of London trip was apparently written or dictated by Ilchi, while the diary of the Russian trip was reported by Ilchi's secretary, Mohammad-Hādi Alavi Shirazi. The diary of London showed that Ilchi used āvāz several times to refer to a certain mode:

Meeting the British ambassador at a garden in Istanbul on August 20, 1809:

> (38) From every corner, birds of sweet voice were captivating the hearts of the listeners with David-like tunes in āvāz-hā-ye Masihi[1] and maqāmāt-e Rāst-Panjgāh.[2] (Abol-Hassan Shirazi 1985, 82)

At a party in London at the house of the British Prime Minister, Spencer Perceval (1762–1812), in January 1810:

> (39) The minstrels of England, India, and Rome illuminated that assembly with the melodious sound of Neyrizi[3] and āvāzeh-ye Bayat Tork-e Tabrizi.[4] (Abol-Hassan Shirazi 1985, 162)

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[1] In Ilchi's diary, āvāz Masihi is used with a rhetorical figure called ihām, which means using a word that has a literal meaning but the writer means a figurative or second meaning (Chalisova 2004). The literal meaning of Masihi is Christian, and āvāz-hā-ye Masihi might be read as Christian chants; however, since it is used along with other modes such as Rāst-Panjgāh and Bayāt Tork, it refers to Masihi, the Persian mode. Masihi is still part of the radif in both instrumental and vocal versions (Talai 1995, 188; Payvar 1996, 91).

[۲] «مرغان خوش الحان از هر طرف به لحن داودی به آوازهای مسیحی و مقامات راست پنجگاه دل از دست مستمعان می بردند.»

[3] Neyriz and Bayat Tork are Persian modes.

[٤] «مطربان انگریزی و هندی و رومی آن مجلس را به‌نوای خوشنوای نیریزی و آوازه‌ی بیات ترک تبریزی گرم کردند.»

Observing people going to church in London on February 4, 1810:

> (40) People were walking towards the churches and monasteries in big and small groups celebrating the praises of God and chanting prayers in āvāz-e Masihi.[1] (Abol-Hassan Shirazi 1985, 191)

At a party in London:

> (41) They were chanting a rhyme in āvāzeh-ye Masihi.[2] (Abol-Hassan Shirazi 1985, 225)

Moreover, he once used āvāz to refer to tunes of some European countries. On May 13, 1810, Ilchi was invited to a dinner party at the house of an English lady, who was married to a Russian. The lady started playing an instrument and singing, and Ilchi described her remarkable skills as follows:

> (42) She sang the āvāzeh of Russia and France and Italy, and the styles of all Farangān [Europeans] very well[3] (Abol-Hassan Shirazi 1985, 300).

Similarly, Ilchi's Russian diary used āvāzeh to write about modes on instruments. Visiting the Hermitage museum in Saint Petersburg, on August 11, 1815, Ilchi's secretary wrote the following about a clock:

> (43) It played all sorts and kinds of instruments of Farang [Europe] perfectly, low pitch and high pitch, in a way that listening to the sound of those instruments would stir up one's emotions, and all sorts of āvāzeh could be perceived from it.[4] (M. H. Shirazi 1978, 200)

Instances of using āvāz to refer to the modes in general also appeared in the only Persian newspaper that was published in Tehran in mid-nineteenth century. On December 4, 1856,

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[1] «مردمان فوج فوج و دسته دسته روی به صوامع و کلیسا می‌رفتند و تسبیح خوانان به آواز مسیحی مشغول ذکر بودند.»

[2] «به آوازه‌ی مسیحی تجنیسی می‌خواندند.»

[3] «آوازهٔ روس و فرانسه و ایتالیا و طریقهٔ جمیع فرنگان را خوب می خواند.»

[4] «انواع و اقسام سازهای فرنگ را، پست و بلند، در کمال خوبی می زد که آدم از شنیدن آواز آن سازها تغییر احوال به هم می رسانید و همه طریق آوازه ای از آن فهمیده می شد.»

Vaqāye'-e Ettefāqieh contained a report about an illusionist who deluded the owner of a theater in London, claiming the following:

> (44) He would take something in hand and bring any sound that he wanted out of that thing, and by playing a trick, he would go inside a small bottle, and when they opened the bottle, he would play with his breath any maqam of the āvāz-hā that they wanted.[1] (*Vaqāye'-e Ettefāqiyeh* 1856, 7)

Āvāz as a general term for modes—or even pieces (as one would put it in European terminology) perceived by the Persian writer as instantiations of a given mode—was quite established in the second half of the nineteenth century. In his various travel and hunting books, Nāser-od-Din Shah used āvāz to refer to the modes on several occasions. In October 1863, the Shah and his crowd were hunting at Jājrud, north-east of Tehran. As usual, the Shah would spend part of the evening with his companions, and frequently the Shah's musicians would perform music on his order. On October 25, the Shah's special tar player, Āqā Gholām-Hoseyn, performed, and the Shah wrote in his diary:

> (45) Gholām-Hoseyn played the tar for a while, [Mohammad-Hasan] Mohaqqeq was saying the names of the āvāz-hā [that Gholām-Hoseyn played].[2] (N.-D. Shah 2011, 195)

By āvāz-hā, the Shah was speaking about the various modes of Persian music that were played by Gholām-Hoseyn on the tar, while Mohaqqeq, one of his close companions, was showing his knowledge of music by recognizing and mentioning the names of the modes that Gholām-Hoseyn performed. Twenty-two years later, the Shah used āvāz to refer to the European tunes. During his third visit to Europe, he witnessed a beer festival in Berlin on June 11, 1889. Different breweries had their music bands playing various tunes, and the Shah described the scene as follows:

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[1] «چیزی در دست می گیرد که از آن هر صدا بخواهد بیرون می آورد و به صنعت در میان شیشهٔ کوچکی رفته، دهان او را که بگشایند، از هر مقامی از آوازها که طالب باشند با دم خواهد زد.»

[2] «غلامحسین قدری تار زد، محقق اسم آوازها را می گفت.»

(46, 47, 48, 49) Each group had muzikānchi [musicians], they had different clothing too; each group had a specific costume and each band performed a specific tune, some old āvāz and some new āvāz, and these āvāz-hā were mixed and became a strange āvāz.[1] (N.-D. Shah 1992a, 1:226)

On the same day, the Shah attended dinner at the castle of Wilhelm II (r. 1888–1918). The German emperor stood up, delivered a speech on the friendship between the Shah and the former German emperors, and made a toast to the Shah of Persia. The band performed the Persian national anthem, which the Shah described as follows:

(50, 51) The *musique* [band] at the musicians' room started the āvāz-e Irani. Everybody was standing up while our āvāz was being performed by the *musique* [band], and we all sat down when it ended. […] When I drank to the health of the Emperor, they performed the *musique* of Germany, and we were standing until the *musique* ended.[2] (N.-D. Shah 1992a, 1:228)

The band most probably performed the national anthems of Persia and Germany during the toast, and the Shah used āvāz to refer to the Persian anthem. A month later, the Shah was received at Buchanan Castle in Scotland, where he wrote the following about the bands:

Two bands of muzikānchi [musicians] joined, one was in red uniform and belonged to the same troops [of soldiers in red uniforms], and the other was in black uniform and belonged to the police; they came and formed a circle and started performing muzikān [military music]. They played very well, very fine and pleasant melodies, we enjoyed it very much, we relished it. They played so well that we wanted to take the notes of the tunes to Tehran so that our muzikānchi-hā would play them.[3] (N.-D. Shah 1992b, 2:111)

[1] «هر دسته موزیکانچی داشتند، آنها هم با لباس مختلف، هر دسته به یک لباس و هر دسته به یک نوای مخصوص میزد. بعضی آواز قدیم بعضی جدید و این آوازهای مختلف داخل هم شده آواز عجیبی شده بود.»

[2] «موزیک در غرفه شروع شد به آواز ایرانی، تا این آواز ما را به موزیک می زدند همه ایستاده بودند، همین که تمام شد نشستیم [...] در وقتی هم که من به سلامتی امپراطور می خوردم موزیک آلمان زدند و تا موزیک تمام نشده بود ایستاده بودیم.»

[3] «دو دسته موزیکانچی که یکی قرمزپوش و متعلّق به همین فوج بود و یکی سیاهپوش و متعلّق به پلیس بود، آمدند، حلقه زدند و موزیکان زدند. بسیار خوب می زدند، نواهای خوب مطبوع، حظ کردیم، لذت بردیم، خیلی خوب زدند به طوری که گفتیم نوط نواها را برای ما بفرستند ببریم طهران موزیکانچی های ما بزنند.»

On the way back to Tehran, the Shah arrived at the city of Qazvin. On October 14, 1889, Qahramān Amin-Lashkar (d. 1893) reported the welcoming ceremony in his diary; once again the Shah or Amin-Lashkar used āvāz to refer to the European tunes:

> (52) In the evening, there were a lot of fireworks in the street, and muzikānchi-hā [military bands] were performing. The Pivot of the Universe [the Shah] told His Excellency Nāyeb-os-Saltaneh [the Shah's son]—may my spirit be a ransom for him—'In Tehran I will give you a few pieces of āvāz and tasnif of Farangestān [European pieces], and you give them to the muzikānchi-hā to practice them.'[1] (Amin-Lashkar 1999, 216)

The Shah meant that he had brought printed or manuscript copies of European sheet music, but either the Shah or Amin-Lashkar used two Persian terms, āvāz and tasnif, to describe the European pieces. Similarly, a collection of idiomatic expressions written in 1890 included an idiom that used āvāz as a term for modes-tunes in general. The idiom used muzikān, which by the late nineteenth century was a common term for military music, to refer to the nonsensicality of the advice of the consultative assembly of Persia, as the pieces played by the military bands might not sound like any āvāz with which the Persians were familiar:

> (53) Muzikān: advice and suggestions of the members of the Council and Advisory House of Iran, as from all of the āvāz-hā of muzikān, no tune could be recognized as it is Zābol or Shur or Chahār-Dovāl [some of the Persian modes].[2] (Hakim Khorasani 2005, 27)

Āvāz was also used by an Iranian aristocrat who translated a French report on the first visit of Mozaffar-od-Din Shah (r. 1896–1907) to Europe in 1900. During his stay in Budapest, the Shah once found an automatic piano playing at his hotel. The French phrase "Dans le salon de l'hôtel

[1] «وقت مغرب آتش بازی مفصّلی در خیابان شد و موزیکانچی ها می زدند. و قبلهٔ عالم به حضرت والا آقای نایب السّلطنه روحی فداه فرمودند که چند قطعه از آواز و تصنیف های فرنگستان در طهران می دهم که بدهید موزیکانچی ها مشق بدهند.»

[2] «موزیکان: کفایات و کاریِنی های اهل شورا و مصلحت خانهٔ ایران است. چنانچه از کلّ آوازهای موزیکان هیچ نوایی معلوم نمی شود که زابل است یا شور یا چهاردُوال.»

un piano automatique intéressa vivement le Monarque" (Corbelin n.d.a, 81) was translated into Persian as:

> (54) They had put a newly invented piano in the big hall of the hotel, which played all sorts of āvāz-hā and maqāmāt by itself, and that wonderful invention seemed agreeable to His Majesty the Shah.[1] (Corbelin n.d.b., 169)

The Danish orientalist Arthur Emanuel Christensen (1875–1945) travelled to Iran multiple times during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In his travel account, Christensen included information on the music in Persia (Christensen 1918a, 83–85), and among various themes he referred to the traditional master-apprentice model for learning music. Quoting his local guide, a certain Seyyed Feyzollah Adib whom he also called Seyyed Mo'allem, Christensen stated the following about learning the repertoire of the Persian urban music:

> (55) Seyyed also stated that it would take approximately five years to learn the 'Melody-cycle' (*doure-i-avaz*).[2] (Christensen 1918a, 84)

Arthur Christensen informed that the knowledge of the āvāz was transmitted from the master to the apprentice; i.e., knowing the āvāz was the knowledge of Persian music. Moreover, he registered, dowreh-ye āvāz, an important term that could have been lost had he failed to mention it. Dowreh means the surroundings of something; thus, a dowreh of a book means the entire book or reading the entire book (Deh-khoda 2016). Dowreh-ye āvāz means the entire repertory of Persian Music, a term that apparently was replaced by the new term, radif, in the second quarter of the twentieth century.[3] About twenty years after Christensen published his book, Ali-Naqi Vaziri informed the audience of the graduation ceremony of the School of Music in Tehran that "the entire dowreh-ye āvāz-hā has been notated"[4] (Vaziri 1934e, 171).

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[1] «در سالون بزرگ هوتل یک دستگاه پیانوی جدید الاختراع که به خودی خود انواع آوازها و مقامات را می نواخت، گذاشته بودند و اعلی حضرت شاهنشاه را آن اختراع بدیع مقبول خاطر افتاده.»

[2] "Sejjid erklaerede ogsaa, at det vilde tage ca. 5 Aar at laere en 'Melodi-cyklus' (*doure-i-avaz*)."

[3] The earliest document that I found which used the term radif dates back to 1915, and it is an introduction by Seyyed Abdollah Atābaki to Ali-Naqi Vaziri's first book (Atābaki 1923, 9). Vaziri compiled the book in 1915 and revised it in 1923, but he stated that Atābaki's introduction was the original version (Vaziri 1923, 5). Vaziri used radif in the same book multiple times (Vaziri 1923, 100, 101, 121, 126); however, it is unclear whether he had used it in the original version or it was added during the revision.

[4] «تمام دوره‌ی آوازها نوت گشته و به یادگار قدما در دست باق است.»

Chapter 8: Āvāz in 1900 to 1920

Alfred Lemaire's Publications

The earliest transcription of a typical non-rhythmic performance of Persian music was published by Alfred Lemaire in 1881. It was the last and longest piece in his *Airs Populaires Persans*, and the piece appeared with the following title:

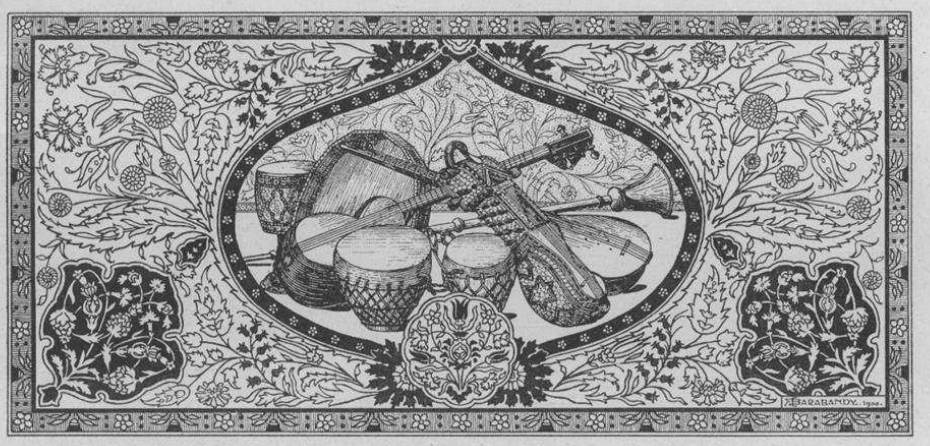
(56) Hâvâs Irani. (Lemaire 1881a, 12–16)

The piece was also arranged for a wind band, apparently by Lemaire, and published as a separate volume also entitled *Hâvâz Irani* (Lemaire 1884); another arrangement for wind band was prepared by Adolphe Sellenick (1826–1893) (Lemaire 1881b).

The second series of publishing Persian music had closer connections with the original performance in Tehran. Although Alfred Lemaire was behind the scores published in 1900, as mentioned in Chapter 1, those publications were most likely prepared by a Persian musician named Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun because they were fundamentally different from those published by Lemaire in 1873 and 1881. One of the three volumes was a performance in dastgāh Homāyun, entitled *Dèstgâh-é Homâyoûn* (Lemaire 1900c). Similar to *Dèstgâh-é Homâyoûn*, a performance in Māhur was published in the same year, but instead of "Dastgāh" Māhur, the piece was given the following title:

(57) *Avâz Mâhour* (Lemaire 1900b).

Thus, āvāz was used as an equivalent of dastgāh in *Avâz Mâhour* and *Dèstgâh-é Homâyoûn*, which both referred to the same concept and had similar structures. Similar to *Dèstgâh-é Homâyoûn*, *Avâz Mâhour* included the rhythmic vocal form of tasnif. In addition, *Avâz Mâhour* started with a Pish-Darāmad, an instrumental rhythmic opening piece, which today is regarded as the opening piece for a dastgāh performance, whereas *Dèstgâh-é Homâyoûn* did not include a Pish-Darāmad.



Avâzè Mâhoûr

MÉLODIE PERSANE

Transcrite pour piano et chant par A. LEMAIRE

Directeur général des musiques de l'armée Persane.

Traduction française de GANTIN.

Allegretto (♩.=100) PÎCH DÉR ÂMÈD (Introduction)

PIANO

Figure 17: Rhythmic instrumental piece (Pish-Darāmad) in Āvāz Māhur

(Lemaire 1900d, 113).

Another publication of Persian music in 1900 was in Rāk, which could be part of dastgāh Māhur or dastgāh Rāst-Panjgāh (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 34, 36); the book was titled:

(58) *Avâz Râg* (Lemaire and Nasser Homayoun n.d.).

According to *L'Illustration*, the French journal that published *Avâz Mâhour*, it was part of a bigger volume published by a French publisher ("Notre Supplément Musical" 1900). The bigger volume contained three dastgāh—Chahārgāh, Homāyun, and Māhur—and it was published under the following title:

(59) *Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans* (Lemaire 1900a).

Although titles of the all three parts of the book were preceded by dastgāh, various modes within a dastgāh were preceded by āvāz. The following is the list of āvāz as they appeared in the three dastgāh:

Dastgāh Chahārgāh:

(60) Āvāz Zābol; (61) Āvāz Zanguleh; (62) Āvāz Hodi; (63) Āvāz Pahlavi; (64) Āvāz Rajaz; (65) Āvāz Mokhālef; (66) Āvāz Maghlub.

Dastgāh Homāyun:

(67) Āvāz Chakāvak; (68) Āvāz Bidād; (69) Āvāz Ney-Dāvud.

Dastgāh Māhur:

(70) Āvāz Dād; (71) Āvāz Khosravāni; (72) Āvāz Delkash.

Alfred Lemaire wrote an introductory note to the book about the Persian modes, which was dedicated to the concept of "*âvâz* persans":

Les *âvâz* persans (préludes ou mélopées sans accompagnement) datent de l'antiquité. Le célèbre 'Abd ol-Qâdèr qui a écrit au XIV[e] siècle les meilleurs ouvrages sur la musique persane et arabe fait une description très détaillée et très savante de ces *âvâz* qui ont été composés pour être chantés ou joués dans les dèst-gâh (cycles) de *mâhoûr*, *tchèhâr-gâh*, *homâyoûn*, *choûr*, *nèvâ* et *sègâ*. Pour chacun de ces cycles qui a une gamme différente, on a composé dans l'antiquité un assez grand nombre d'*âvâz* qui n'ont été notés qu'en 781 de l'hégire (=1379 de notre ère), par 'Abd ol-Qâdèr. Cette notation n'est malheureusement plus connue depuis plusieurs siècles ni par les persans, ni par les arabes; mais les mélodies de ces *âvâz* qui étaient très-populaires, comme du reste elles le sont encore actuellement, ont été conservées par tradition.

La gamme persane comprend dix-sept notes, la dix-huitième étant l'octave de la 1[er], elle a donc cinq notes de plus que notre gamme, ce qui explique que la plupart des airs persans ne peuvent être joués ni sur nos instruments à vent, ni sur le piano. Ils ne pourraient être fidèlement rendus que sur le violon ou les autres instruments à archet, et encore, faudrait-il un artiste connaissant à fond les différents intervalles existant entre chacune

The Persian [73] *āvāz* (preludes or mélopées without accompaniment) originate in Antiquity [ancient history]. The famous Abd-ol-Qāder who, in the fourteenth century, wrote the best works on Persian and Arabic music makes a detailed and scholarly description of these [74] *āvāz*, which were composed to be sung or played in the dastgāh (cycles) of *Māhur*, *Chahārgāh*, *Homāyun*, *Shur*, *Navā*, and *Segāh*. For each of these cycles, which have different scales, a fairly large number of [75] *āvāz* were composed in Antiquity and notated only in 781 of Hegira (1379 AD) by Abd-ol-Qāder. This notation has unfortunately not been known for centuries by Persians or Arabs, but the melodies of these [76] *āvāz*, which were and remain popular, have been preserved by tradition [orally].

The Persian scale contains seventeen notes, the eighteenth being the octave of the first, so that the scale has five more notes than our [European] scale, which explains why most of the Persian airs cannot be played on our [European] wind instruments or on the piano. They could be rendered correctly only on the violin or on other bowed string instruments, and furthermore, this would require an artist well acquainted with the

de ces dix-huit notes de la gamme persane. Ces dix-sept notes ne sont jamais toutes employées dans un cycle quelconque.

Chaque cycle n'en contient ordinairement que de neuf à douze, mais, comme dans ces dix ou douze notes employées; il y en a quelques unes qui ne se trouvent pas dans notre gamme, il est impossible de rendre exactement avec nos instruments toutes les mélodies que nous entendons journellement en Perse. Nous n'avons donc transcrit pour ce recueil, de même que pour les deux recueils qui suivront, que certains *âvâz* et *tèsnîf* des cycles de *mâhoûr, homâyoûn* et de *tchèhâr-gâh,* et avons choisi des *âvâz* et *tèsnîf* ne contenant que des notes comprises dans notre gamme européenne.

Nous avons déjà noté et fait paraître des *tèsnîf* (chansons) persans, mais c'est pour la première fois que nous publions des *âvâz,* qui jusqu'à présent, n'avaient jamais été notés et surtout exactement notés.

Un *âvâz* d'un cycle quelconque est joué ou chanté un grand nombre de fois de suite, sans accompagnement et ce n'est que lorsqu'il a été longtemps répété, que l'exécutant termine par un *tèsnîf* (chanson)

different intervals that exist in between each of these eighteen notes of the Persian scale. One cycle never uses all seventeen notes of the scale.

Each cycle contains no more than nine to twelve notes, but because ten or twelve notes are used in these cycles, there are several notes that do not exist in our scale; thus, it is impossible to render exactly with our [European] instruments all the melodies that we hear daily in Persia. For this reason, we only transcribed certain [77] *āvāz* and *tasnif* in the cycles of *Māhur, Homāyun,* and *Chahārgāh* for this collection. The same applies to the two collections that follow, and we have chosen those [78] *āvāz* and *tasnif* which contain only the notes known in our European scale.

We have already notated and published the Persian *tasnif* (songs), but it is for the first time that we publish the [79] *āvāz,* which until now, has never been notated, especially not with any accuracy.

An [80] *āvāz* of a cycle is played or sung repeatedly many times without accompaniment [of percussions] and only when this was repeated many times, the performer finishes with a *tasnif* (chanson) with

avec accompagnement de *dombèk* (tambourin) et de *dâyèrè* (grand tambour de basque), ou par un *rèng* (chant très animé et spécial à la danse) également avec accompagnement de *dombèk* et de *dâyèrè*.

C'est sur l'ordre de S. M. I. Mozaffèr èd-Dîn Châh que pour la première fois nous avons écrit un accompagnement sous des *âvâz* et fait exécuter une suite d'*âvâz* sans les répéter, mais en les intercalant de *tèsnîf*.

Cette innovation dans l'exécution des *âvâz*, qui rompt la monotonie des mélodies indéfiniment répétées et que nous devons au goût éclairé de S. M. I. le Châh pour la musique, a obtenu un très grand succès en Perse.

Nous tenons à constater en terminant que la plupart de nos élèves du Conservatoire de Tèhèrân sont arrivés à transcrire fidèlement les mélodies persanes, notamment le général Arsalân khân *Nâsèr homâyoûn*, chambellan de Sa Majesté.

accompaniment of *dombak* (tambourine) and of *dāyereh* (big tambour de Basque), or with a Reng (a song that is animated and special for dancing) also with the accompaniment of *dombak* and *dāyereh*.

It is at the command of His Imperial Majesty Mozaffar-od-Din Shah that, for the first time, we wrote an accompaniment for the [81] *āvāz* and performed a suite of [82] *āvāz* without repeating them, but intercalated with *tasnif*.

This innovation in performing the [83] *āvāz*, which breaks with the monotony of the melodies endlessly repeated and which we owe to the enlightened taste of His Imperial Majesty the Shah for music, was hugely successful in Persia.

Finally, we want to add that most of our students at *Conservatoire de Téhéran* have learned to transcribe Persian melodies faithfully, especially general Arsalān Khan Nāser-Homāyun, Chamberlain of His Majesty.

âvâz
gamme
mélodies
persane
cycles
notes
instruments
homâyoûn
persans
grand
tèsnîf
dombèk
fidèlement
exactement
écrit
tchèhârgâh
dâyèrè
mâhoûr
fois
l'antiquité
abdolqâdèr
Châh
première
quelconque
employées
notés
nombre
joués
musique
cycle
plupart
perse
n'est
ordinairement
persanes
tènbourin
târ
târ
târ

The Gramophone's Persian Catalog

In 1905, two recording experts, Franz and Max Hampe, were sent to Tehran by the Gramophone Company to prepare a collection of Persian recordings. The aim of the recordings in 1906 was to boost the sales of the gramophone devices in Persia. The Persian recordings made in 1906 are invaluable as the oldest recorded samples of an oral tradition, which had a long and rich tradition of theoretical discussions. The recordings also preserved rare samples of dialects and accents of that time as well as several tracks of the Persian traditional comedy acts. The labels of the recordings also document rare information about the recorded music.

Unlike any discourse on music, the record labels referred to the recorded modes and pieces. To my knowledge, none of the Persian musical texts of the nineteenth century was authored by a professional performer; thus, it was fortuitous that the recording operators documented information provided by Persian musicians on the modes that they performed. Moreover, the information was not obtained from a single source; dozens of musicians were involved in the Tehran recording session in 1906. Although communications with the German recording operators was most probably arranged through a mediator, acquiring information from several musicians was essentially different from having one or two sources. The record titles were mainly in the style of spoken language,[1] which suggests that they were documented exactly as they were told to the recording operators or his interpreter.

The result of the Tehran recording session was an extensive catalog of recordings, which presented an anthology of Persian modes. Comparing the Gramophone's Persian catalog with the labels of the surviving records shows that, in 1906, the company used the same stamp to print the labels and catalogs. Thus, having the Persian catalog in hand would be the same as having the labels of all the records. The recordings presented various genres and forms, including Persian comedy play, rhythmic vocalizations, free meter vocal and instrumental pieces, and a set of the

[1] For instance the performers of the catalog number 4-12036 were introduced as follows: "Qorbān Khan and Āqā Hoseyn Ta'zieh-khān and Bāqer Khan and Mirza Ali-Akbar Khan Shahi have played together on santur and tar (Gramophone 1906, 18).

seven dastgāh. The Persian catalog of 1906 contained two hundred and fourteen labels (Gramophone 1906), which were divided as follows: thirty-seven from the dastgāh sets; fifty-five tasnif [song]; twenty-one taqlid [Persian comedy act]; five were not preceded by a modal or formal term; three reng [dance piece]; one Persian National Anthem, and one Pish-Darāmad. The remaining ninety-one tracks, two of the dastgāh set, and one of the comedy acts used the term āvāz in the title.

A basic analysis of the Gramophone Company's catalog of the Persian records can lead to a better understanding of the documentation of the Persian modal system. Apart from the seven sets of dastgāh, which were released on thirty-six single-sided records, the Gramophone Company released one hundred and seventy-seven single-sided discs in 1906. Among those recordings, twenty-one tracks were plays and one hundred and fifty-six were musical performances. The modes of the recordings were specified on the labels of the ninety-seven records and the remainder only mentioned the musical forms: Fifty-one records were titled as tasnif, two were titled as Reng, five had no modal term, and one was the royal anthem. Of the ninety-seven records that documented the mode on the labels, ninety-one record labels used the term āvāz to refer to the mode; one was a Pish-Darāmad, one was a Reng, one had no modal term, and three records were tasnif in a certain mode.

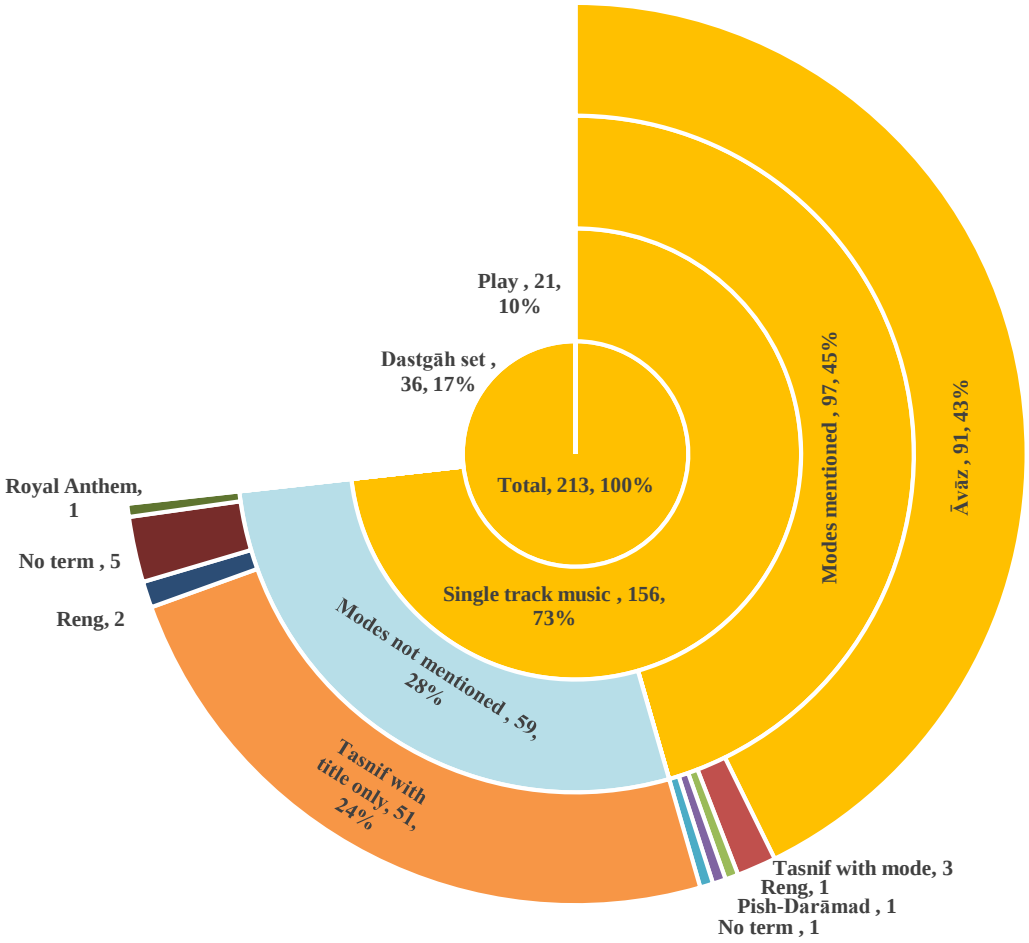
Table 11: Distribution of musical terms on record labels when a mode name is mentioned

	Āvāz	Tasnif	Reng	No term	Pish-Darāmad
Mode was mentioned: 97 times	91	3	1	1	1
Percentage of 97 records	94%	3%	1%	1%	1%

Table 12: Distribution of musical terms on record labels when a mode name is not mentioned

	Tasnif	Reng	No term	Royal Anthem
Mode was not mentioned: 59 times	51	2	5	1
Percentage of 59 records	86.4%	3.4%	8.5 %	1.7 %

Chart 1: Distribution of the musical terms on record labels.


Play , 21, 10%
Dastgāh set , 36, 17%
Total, 213, 100%
Single track music , 156, 73%
Modes mentioned , 97, 45%
Āvāz , 91, 43%
Royal Anthem, 1
No term , 5
Reng, 2
Modes not mentioned , 59, 28%
Tasnif with title only , 51, 24%
Tasnif with mode, 3
Reng, 1
Pish-Darāmad , 1
No term , 1

As data analysis shows, ninety-one labels of the ninety-seven labels with modes used āvāz to refer to the mode. In other words, ninety-four percent of the documented modes on the record labels were preceded by āvāz. Table 13 lists the ninety-one titles containing the term āvāz:

Table 13: Various āvāz registered on record labels

	Catalog Number	Title
(84)	10064	Tasnif of āvāz Rohāb
(85)	15000	Āvāz Bidād
(86)	15001	Āvāz Bayat-e Esfahān
(87)	15002	Āvāz Māhur
(88)	15003	Āvāz Afshāri
(89)	15004	Āvāz Rāk Abdollāh
(90)	15005	Āvāz Shekasteh-ye Homāyun
(91)	15006	Āvāz Delkash
(92)	16009	Āvāz Qatār
(93)	16010	Āvāz Bayāt-e Tork
(94)	16107	Āvāz Abu-Atā
(95)	16108	Āvāz Segāh
(96)	16109	Āvāz Erāq
(97)	16110	Āvāz Darāmad-e Shur
(98)	16111	Āvāz Mansuri
(99)	16112	Āvāz Darāmad-e Homāyun
(100)	16113	Āvāz Masnavi
(101)	17701	Āvāz Gabri
(102)	17702	Āvāz Qarābāghi
(103)	17759	Āvāz Bayāt Esfahān
(104)	17760	Āvāz Dashti
(105)	19153	Āvāz Gilāni
(106)	19202	Āvāz Erāq
(107)	19376	Āvāz Delāviz
(108)	19377	Āvāz Māhur
(109)	19378	Āvāz Homāyun
(110)	19379	Āvāz Rāst-Dogāh
(111)	19383	Āvāz Erāq and Māhur
(112)	3-12668	Āvāz Bakhtiāri
(113)	3-12669	Āvāz Leyli-Majnun
(114)	3-12670	Āvāz Nowruz-e Arab
(115)	3-12671	Āvāz Māvarā-on-Nahr
(116)	3-12692	Āvāz Dashti
(117)	3-12693	Āvāz Hejāz
(118)	3-12694	Āvāz Mansuri
(119)	4-12000	Āvāz Afshāri
(120)	4-12001	Āvāz Shur
(121)	4-12002	Āvāz Hajiāneh
(122)	4-12003	Āvāz Qarābāghi
(123)	4-12004	Āvāz Bayāt-e Torki
(124)	4-12005	Āvāz Bayāt-e Esfahān
(125)	4-12006	Āvāz Dashti
(126)	4-12007	Āvāz Rāk
(127)	4-12008	Āvāz Abu-Aytām [Abu-Atā]
(128)	4-12009	Āvāz Bidād
(129)	4-12010	Āvāz Segāh, Mokhālef
(130)	4-12011	Āvāz Navā
(131)	4-12012	Āvāz Qatār
(132)	4-12013	Āvāz Bayāt Kordi
(133)	4-12014	Āvāz Gilak
(134)	4-12015	Āvāz Gabri
(135)	4-12016	Āvāz Hejāz
(136)	4-12017	Āvāz Darāmad-e Bayāt
(137)	4-12018	Āvāz Rohāb
(138)	4-12019	Āvāz Delkash
(139)	4-12020	Āvāz Rāk
(140)	4-12021	Āvāz Dashti, Chupān
(141)	4-12022	Āvāz Masnavi
(142)	4-12023	Āvāz Darāmad-e Hesār, Maghlub
(143)	4-12024	Āvāz Amiri
(144)	4-12025	Āvāz Qarāi
(145)	4-12026	Āvāz Suz-o-Godāz, Shāhanshāshi
(146)	4-12027	Āvāz Homāyun

(147)	4-12028	Āvāz Masnavi, Leyli-Majnun
(148)	4-12029	Āvāz Shahnāz
(149)	4-12030	Āvāz Rāh-e Ruh
(150)	4-12031	Āvāz Mansuri
(151)	4-12032	Āvāz Darāmad Māhur, Abol-Chap
(152)	4-12033	Āvāz Shekasteh-ye Māhur
(153)	4-12034	Āvāz Bayāt-e Shiraz with Shurangiz
(154)	4-12035	Āvāz Pari [Bāvi]
(155)	4-12039	Āvāz Dogāh
(156)	4-12040	Āvāz Masihi
(157)	4-12043	Āvāz Kord Bayāt
(158)	4-12045	Āvāz Garāyli
(159)	4-12046	Āvāz Segāh Qafqāzi
(160)	4-12047	Āvāz Gham-angiz, Kuche-Esfahān
(161)	4-12048	Āvāz Homāyun, Leyli-Majnun
(162)	4-12049	Āvāz Ruh-ol-Arvāh
(163)	4-12050	Āvāz Dogāh
(164)	4-12051	Āvāz Mansuri
(165)	4-12055	Āvāz Māvarā-an-Nahr
(166)	4-12063	Āvāz Āzarbāyjāni
(167)	4-12086	Dastgāh No. 4 of Māhur, Āvāz Feyli
(168)	4-12087	Dastgāh No. 5 of Māhur, Āvāz Delkash
(169)	4-12090	Āvāz Afshāri
(170)	012090	Āvāz Qarābāghi
(171)	012091	Āvāz Darāmad-e Shur
(172)	012092	Āvāz Darāmad-e Homāyun
(173)	012093	Āvāz Bayāt-e Gāv [Bayāt of cow, not real mode, comedy]
(174)	012094	Āvāz Nowruz-e Arab
(175)	012095	Āvāz Mansuri
(176)	012096	Āvāz Abol-Chap
(177)	012097	Āvāz Shāhanshāhi

Six of the seven page titles of the dastgāh set included both āvāz and dastgāh. The page titles were in French and in Persian; the French titles were the names preceded by the term dastgāh, but the Persian titles read as follows (Gramophone 1906, 24–29):

(178) Āvāz of Dastgāh Navā

(179) Dastgāh of āvāz Homāyun

(180) Dastgāh of āvāz Shur

(181) Āvāz of dastgāh Segāh

(182) Dastgāh of āvāz Māhur

(183) Dastgāh of āvāz Rāst-Panjgāh

Āvāz as non-rhythmic vocalization is a common form of singing in Persian music, which conforms to the literal meaning of āvāz (sound/voice). Fifty-one of the fifty-nine records that did not mention the modes under the title of āvāz were titled tasnif, which is the rhythmic vocal form of Persian music. Nonetheless, as discussed below, it would be wrong to conclude that āvāz simply referred to the vocalization.

First, twenty-eight of the records titled āvāz were instrumental recordings and categorized as instrumental pieces by the Gramophone Company. Although ten of the tasnif records were also instrumental recordings, they were substantially different from an instrumental recording titled as āvāz. While it could have been possible to record a popular rhythmic song (tasnif) as an instrumental piece, performing an imitation of a specific improvised non-rhythmic vocalization (āvāz) on an instrument would have been meaningless. Additionally, a tasnif could have been performed by various musicians, as shown by tasnif with catalog numbers 3-12689 and 4-12010, which were recorded by two groups of musicians in 1906. However, because of the improvised nature of the non-rhythmic Persian vocalization, an āvāz (vocalization) could not be reproduced by even the same singer, let alone different singers. Even if one assumes that it might have happened, it would have been impossible to record twenty-eight of such unusual performances, i.e., instrumental performances of improvised non-rhythmic vocalizations.

Second, the term tasnif preceded the lyrics of the songs on fifty-one labels and the names of the modes on three labels, while āvāz preceded the names of the modes on almost all of the ninety-one labels with mode names. Hence, tasnif was solely used as the term for musical form, while āvāz was essentially used as a modal term.

Third, one record label on which tasnif preceded āvāz left no doubt that the term āvāz was not used for the vocal form, because the same track could not have been both a rhythmic vocalization (tasnif) and a non-rhythmic vocalization (āvāz). Catalog number 10064 was titled *Tasnif-e Āvāz-e Rohāb* and it was clearly a tasnif in the mode of āvāz Rohāb.

Fourth, the term āvāz preceded two modes of Feyli and Delkash on two recordings of Dastgāh Māhur among the set of seven dastgāh. Since all thirty-six recordings of the seven dastgāh were vocal/instrumental performances, it would have made no sense to add the term āvāz to indicate that those two records were vocal performances.

Fifth, although the French titles of the set of the seven dastgāh in the last section of the recording session were preceded by "Dastgāh-e" (Dastgāh of), six of the seven Persian titles included āvāz in the titles. Four titles were preceded by "*Dastgāh-e āvāz-e*," which could be interpreted as "*The collection of the āvāz of*," and two titles were preceded by "*Āvāz-e dastgāh-e*," which could similarly be interpreted as "*The āvāz of the collection of*," or perhaps the words were written in the wrong order. Only one title contained dastgāh only: "*Tamām-e dastgāh-e Chahārgāh*," which could be interpreted as "*All [the āvāz] of the collection of Chahārgāh*."

Last, one track showed that Persian musicians used āvāz to refer to modes in an instrumental performance. The preeminent instrumentalist of the time, Hoseyn-Qoli (1853–1916) recorded major parts of the Dastgāh Māhur on two records. Hoseyn-Qoli and his brother are celebrated as the two main sources of dastgāh system (Youssefzadeh 2012). The first recording, catalog number 19382, started with a Pish-Darāmad, a rhythmic instrumental piece, which was followed by improvisations in Māhur and Delkash. Starting the mode Delkash, Hoseyn-Qoli stopped performing and announced:

(184) Āvāz-e Delkash-e! (This is āvāz Delkash!) (Hoseyn-Qoli 1906).

The announcement by the master who is considered a main reference of the dastgāh system confirms the use of āvāz as the general modal term, and using āvāz to refer to instrumental improvisation indicates that the term āvāz on the labels did not refer to vocalizations.

In conclusion, the ninety-seven labels, which included various modes in their titles, leave no doubt that āvāz was the common term to refer to Persian modes. Almost all of the modes were preceded by the term āvāz, while the term dastgāh was only used for the seven sets of āvāz, which formed a dastgāh set; hence, six sets were titled "dastgāh of āvāz," with the variation of "āvāz of dastgāh" in two cases.

Gramophone's subsequent recording sessions were conducted in London in 1909 and in Tehran in 1912. However, the number of musicians involved in those sessions dropped dramatically, and the arrangement of the recordings implied a prearranged plan, which involved a more uniform style of labeling the tracks. The entries of the Persian catalogs of 1909 and 1912 documented the names of the modes only and lacked any specific modal term (Gramophone 1909, 1912, 1913).

Mirza Shafi

The name Mirza Shafi appeared on the last page of *The Treatise on the Seven Dastgāh* without further details. The book describes a version of the seven dastgāh, which had essential differences from the version described by Forsat. For instance, Mirza Shafi included the dastgāh of Dogāh instead of Navā, however, he had a similar style of preceding various modes with the term āvāz.

A description of all seven dastgāh shows that each dastgāh contained several āvāz, as follows (Mirza Shafi 1912, fol. 1v, 19v, 33v, 49v, 65v, 71r, 79v, 80r):

> (185, 186) Shur contains twelve āvāz, and each āvāz contains several panjeh.[1]
>
> (187, 188) The second of the seven dastgāh is dastgāh Māhur, and that contains twelve complete āvāz, and each āvāz contains twelve panjeh.[2]
>
> (189, 190) The third dastgāh of the dastgāh [system] of the knowledge of music is dastgāh Homāyun, and that also contains twelve āvāz, and each āvāz contains several panjeh.[3]
>
> (191, 192) The fourth of the dastgāh [system] of the knowledge of music is dastgāh Chahārgāh, and that contains several āvāz, and each āvāz contains several panjeh.[4]
>
> (193, 194) The fifth of the dastgāh [system] of music is dastgāh Segāh, and that also contains several āvāz, and each āvāz contains several gusheh.[5]

[1] «خود شور دارای دوازده آواز است، و هر آوازی دارای چندین پنجه.»

The literal meaning of panjeh is paw, which is used for both human and animals. In Persian music, it means a short piece when the musician's hand moves for a short time.

[2] «دوم از هفت دستگاه، دستگاه ماهور است، و آن هم دارای دوازده آواز تمام، و هر آوازی دارای دوازده پنجه.»

[3] «دستگاه سوم از دستگاه علوم موسیقی دستگاه همایون است، و آن هم دارای دوازده آواز است، و هر آوازی دارای چندین پنجه.»

[4] «چهارم از دستگاه علومات موسیقی دستگاه چهارگاه است، و آن هم دارای چند آواز، و هر آوازی صاحب چندین پنجه.»

[5] «پنجم از دستگاه موسیقی دستگاه سه‌گاه است، و آن هم دارای چندین آواز و هر آواز دارای چندین گوشه.»

(195, 196) The sixth dastgāh of the music is dastgāh Dogāh, and that also contains several āvāz, and each āvāz contains several panjeh.[1]

(197, 198, 199, 200, 201) The seventh dastgāh of music is dastgāh Rāst-Panjgāh, and that also contains several āvāz, and each āvāz of the āvāz-hā of Rāst-Panjgāh is named after the names of the āvāz-hā of Homāyun, except for the māyeh [tone] of the āvāz, which is different according to the tune [utilized frets] of the instrument.[2]

Although Mirza Shafi stated that each of the first three dastgāh contained twelve āvāz, that number seems to be symbolic because it is difficult to recognize twelve āvāz for any of the dastgāh in the provided description. The text mainly comprises continuous descriptions of the dastgāh in which some of the āvāz are given distinguishable titles; the remaining āvāz in each dastgāh needs to be recognized in context. Even though the descriptions show that the first dastgāh could have ten āvāz and the second one could have up to eleven, the third dastgāh could not contain more than nine āvāz. Mirza Shafi related the āvāz of Rāst-Panjgāh to the āvāz of Homāyun, which is similar to the relation that Forsat considered for the two dastgāh of Chahārgāh and Segāh (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 35).

The term āvāz appeared more than hundred and forty times in Mirza Shafi's book, of which many were preceding specific modes. However, towards the end of the book, the descriptions of the dastgāh include significantly less detail, perhaps because the author or his source did not have enough information about the less popular dastgāh, the author or his source became impatient, or because they ran out of time and thus completed the book hastily. Table 14 provides a list of instances of using the term āvāz in Mirza Shafi's text:

[1] «ششم دستگاه موسیقی دستگاه دوگاه است، و آن هم دارای چندین آواز و هر آوازی صاحب چند پنجه.»

[2] «هفتم دستگاه موسیقی دستگاه راست پنج گاه است، و آن هم دارای چند آواز است، و هر آوازی از آوازهای راست پنج گاه موسوم به اسم آوازهای همایون است، بجز مایهٔ آواز که در کوک ساز تفاوت می کند.»

Table 14: List of the various āvāz in the seven dastgāh according to Mirza Shafi

Dastgāh Shur	(202)	Āvāz Dobeyti
	(203)	Āvāz Kord
	(204)	Āvāz Tork
	(205)	Āvāz
	(206)	Āvāz Dashti
	(207)	Āvāz Hājiāni
	(208)	Pish-Darāmad of the āvāz
	(209)	Āvāz Qatār
	(210)	Āvāz Lori
	(211)	Zirband of Āvāz Lori
	(212)	Āvāz Afshār
	(213)	Āvāz Hejāz
	(214)	Āvāz Shahnāz
	(215)	Zir-o-ru of Āvāz Shahnāz
	(216)	Āvāz Razavi
Dastgāh Māhur	(217)	Darāmad of āvāz Māhur
	(218)	Ru of āvāz
	(219)	Āvāz Delkash
	(220)	Āvāz Pish-Dād
	(221)	Āvāz Nishāburak
	(222)	Ru of āvāz
	(223)	Āvāz Nishāpur Bozorg
	(224)	Ru of āvāz
	(225)	Āvāz Tarabangiz
	(226)	Ru of āvāz
	(227)	Bargardān of āvāz
	(228)	Āvāz Dād
	(229)	Ru of āvāz
	(230)	Takyeh of āvāz
	(231)	Āvāz Nasir
	(232)	Ru of āvāz
	(233)	Ru of āvāz
	(234)	Bargardān of āvāz
	(235)	Ru of āvāz
	(236)	Ru of āvāz
	(237)	Ru of āvāz
	(238)	Āvāz [?] Soltāni
	(239)	Rukesh of āvāz
	(240)	Ru of āvāz
	(241)	Āvāz Erāq
	(242)	Ru of āvāz
	(243)	Ru of āvāz
	(244)	Ru of āvāz
	(245)	Ru of āvāz
	(246)	Ru of āvāz

(247) Ru of āvāz
(248) Ru of āvāz
(249) Āvāz Rāk
(250) Āvāz Rezvani

Dastgāh Homāyun
(251) Ru of āvāz
(252) Zir-o-Ru of āvāz
(253) Āvāz Sha'afangiz
(254) Zir-o-Ru of āvāz
(255) The first āvāz of Homāyun
(256) Zir-o-Ru of āvāz
(257) Ru of āvāz
(258) The second āvāz of Homāyun
(259) Āvāz Chakāvak
(260) The second āvāz of Homāyun
(261) The second āvāz of Homāyun
(262) Owj of āvāz
(263) The third āvāz of Homāyun
(264) Āvāz Abol
(265) Āvāz Abol-chap
(266) Zir-o-Ru of āvāz
(267) Āvāz Leyli-Majnun
(268) Ru of āvāz
(269) Āvāz Shushtari
(270) Āvāz Barbat?
(271) Āvāz Hoseyn-Khani

Dastgāh Chahārgāh
(275) The first āvāz of Chahārgāh
(276) Āvāz of Chahārgāh
(277) Ru of āvāz
(278) Zir-o-Ru of āvāz
(279) Zir-o-Ru of āvāz
(280) Ru of āvāz
(281) Āvāz Zābol
(282) Zir-o-Ru of āvāz Zābol
(283) Āvāz Kābol
(284) Ru of āvāz
(285) Bargardān āvāz
(286) Pish-Nahād of āvāz
(287) Ru of āvāz
(288) Āvāz Hodi
(289) Zir-o-Ru of āvāz
(290) Owj of āvāz
(291) Āvāz Pahlavi
(292) Ru of āvāz
(283) Tahrir of āvāz
(294) Ru of āvāz
(295) Zir-o-Ru of āvāz
(296) Owj of āvāz
(297) Sakteh of āvāz
(298) Āvāz Masnavi
(299) Ru of āvāz

(272) Owj of āvāz
(273) Zir-o-Ru of āvāz
(274) Āvāz Basāt-angiz

(300) Ru of āvāz
(301) Zir-o-Ru of āvāz
(302) Ru of āvāz
(303) Zir-o-Ru of āvāz
(304) Āvāz Rajaz-khāni
(305) Māyeh of āvāz
(306) Zeyl-o-Bam of āvāz
(307) Ru of āvāz
(308) Āvāz Mansuri
(309) Āvāz
(310) Ru of āvāz

Dastgāh (311) Ru of āvāz
Segāh (312) Āvāz Sarā-ye Soltāni
(313) Ru of āvāz
(314) Āvāz Chakāvakān
(315) Ru of āvāz
(316) Owj of āvāz
(317) Ru of āvāz

Dastgāh (318) Ru of āvāz
Dogāh (319) Ru of āvāz
(320) Āvāz Pahlavi
(321) Ru of āvāz

Dastgāh (322) Ru of āvāz
Rāst-Panjgāh (323) Ru of āvāz
(324) Zir-o-Ru of āvāz
(325) Ru of āvāz
(326) Zeyl-o-Bam of āvāz
(327) Ru of āvāz
(328) Ru of āvāz

Addendum (329) In āvāz

First Published Persian Book in Music, 1904 and 1914: Bohur-ol-Alhān

Mohammad-Nasir Hoseyni-Shirazi (1854–1920) was a well-known Persian poet and literate of the early twentieth century. He adopted the pen name Forsat, with which the Shah honored him the title Forsat-od-Dowleh (Kasheff 2012). Forsat not only mastered poetry, but he was also acquainted with the classical discourses on music. Although he had a Divān (book of poems), today he is better known for his selection of Persian poems, *Bohur-ol-Alhān*, meaning oceans (or meters) of melodies, which should be sung in various modes.

Bohur-ol-Alhān was preceded by a publication note in which Forsat stated that he had written the book in 1904, ten years before it was published in 1914 (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 4, 8). However, his introduction indicated that pages 29 to 39 were added in 1914 to include details of the Persian music system according to the contemporary musicians (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 29, 39). Forsat's source for contemporary music was introduced as Mehdi Montazem-ol-Hokamā, a physician who was also an amateur musician. Montazem-ol-Hokamā learned the knowledge of Persian music and playing the tar and setar from Mirza Abdollah, the celebrated musician of the late nineteenth century whose radif, the traditional repertoire, has become the dominant version of the Persian music repertory. In the acknowledgment of his book, Forsat expressed gratitude to Mehdi-Qoli Mokhber-os-Saltaneh, an aristocrat and musicophile, whose own book on the theory of Persian music was released in 1938. However, it is unclear whether Forsat was influenced by Mokhber-os-Saltaneh.

Most of Forsat's introduction summarizes the traditional discourses on music including meter in which āvāz was frequently used to refer to the modes in general. The following quotations contain the term āvāz:

(330, 331) On top of the poems that are included, it should be indicated that […] to which dastgāh of āvāz they are applicable, although this rule is not rigid, because any poem can be sung in any āvāz.[1] (p 7)[2]

(332) On mixing the āvāz-hā (he explains the mixing of various modes).[3] (p 19)

(333, 334, 335) On the [appropriate] times for singing [various] āvāz. […] In fact, any āvāz which is sung with a beautiful voice at any time, will be affecting. […] But in some books, the time for singing each āvāz is mentioned in a different way.[4] (p 23–4)

(336) You should know that each āvāz has an effect on the soul, depending on the difference [of the āvāz].[5] (p 25)

After a summary of the traditional discourses, Forsat provided information on the new system of the seven dastgāh. He started by listing the modes that did not exist in the previous system, calling them āvāz, and continued with more explanations of the dastgāh system. The following quotations contain the term āvāz:

(337) (On the recently added modes) For instance, āvāz Tork, and Bakhtiāri, and Dashti, and Meygoli, and Quchāni, and Qarāi, and Qarādāgh-li, and Afshār, and Leyli-Majnun, and Masihi, and Rāk, and Shur, and Kord, and so on.[6] (p 27)

(338) And several āvāz that are attributed to Bārbad and Nakisa ….[7] (p 28)

[1] «اشاره رفت به اینکه اشعاری که نوشته شود در صدر آن إشعاری رود [...] مناسبت کدام دستگاه از آواز را دارد، هرچند که این قاعده کلی نیست، زیرا که هر شعری را به هر آواز توان خواند.»

[2] Page numbers are indicated at the end of each quotation.

[4] «در اوقات تغنی آواز [...] فی الواقع هر آوازی را که هر وقت سرایند، با حسن صوتی مؤثر است [...] در بعض از نسخ به طریقی دیگر اوقات سرائیدن هر آوازی را ذکر کرده اند.»

[5] «بدان که در نفوس به اختلاف هر آوازی را تأثیری هست.»

[6] «مثلاً آواز ترک و بختیاری و دشتی و میگلی و قوچانی و قرائی و قراداغلی و افشار و لیلی مجنون و مسیحی و راک و شور و کرد و غیر ذلک.»

[7] «چندین آواز را که نسبت به باربد و نکیسا میدهند.»

(339) If by means of *note*, which in *Farangestān* [Europe], they have established for their own āvāz nowadays ….[1] (p 31)

(340, 341, 342) It should be noticed that, according to the ancients, each āvāz has a Masnavi[2] and a Sāqi-nāmeh.[3] […] Regarding what we said here that each āvāz has a Masnavi and a Sāqi-Nāmeh that could be sung in the same tone, in the new style, they sing [those two forms in] some of the āvāz for which a concordance and harmonious Masnavi and Sāqi-nāmeh exists.[4] (p 32)

(343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348) Regarding mentioning several āvāz within a dastgāh, it is possible during a performance to skip some of them. But some āvāz are inseparable parts of the previous āvāz. For instance, when a certain āvāz is sung, that other certain āvāz should be sung after it, and maybe three or four or five or more are inseparable from each other. In the table of each dastgāh in which we name the āvāz-hā, we will connect those that are inseparable from their previous ones with the copulative conjunction of and.[5] (p 33)

The tables of the seven dastgāh provided a list of various modes, but they were not preceded by any modal term. However, āvāz was mentioned as a specific mode in four dastgāh (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 35–37), which most likely referred to the main mode of the dastgāh.

Dastgāh Segāh:

(349) Āvāz (p 35)

Dastgāh Homāyun:

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[1] «اگر به طور نت که در این اوقات در فرنگستان برای آوازهای خودشان معمول داشته اند».

[2] Non-rhythmic vocalization on couplet pattern of Masnavi (“Masnavi” 2016).

[3] Non-rhythmic vocalization on couplet pattern of Sāqi-Nāmeh (Losensky 2009).

[4] «باید دانست که به اصطلاح قدما هر آوازی یک مثنوی و یک ساق نامه دارد. [...] این که در اینجا گفتیم هر آوازی دارای یک مثنوی و یک ساق نامه می باشد که می توان به همان زمینه خواند، ولی در طرز جدید بعض از آوازها که مثنوی و ساق نامه ای ملایم و اخت به آن باشد می خوانند.»

[5] «این‌که در یک دستگاه که نام چندین آواز برده می‌شود، ممکن است که بعض از آن‌ها را در ضمن تغنی ترک نمایند، و بگذرند که خوانده نشود، و لیکن برخی از آوازها هست که جزء لاینفک آواز قبل از خود می‌باشد. مثلاً آوازی معین که خوانده شد، عقب آن می‌باید آن آواز معین دیگر خوانده شود، و شاید سه یا چهار یا پنج یا بیشتر علی التوالی منفک از یکدیگر نباشند. و ما در جدول هر دستگاهی که اسم آوازها را می‌بریم، آن‌ها که منفک از قبل از خود نیستند با واو عطف می‌نویسیم.»

(350) Āvāz (p 35)

Dastgāh Māhur:

(351) Āvāz (p 36)

Dastgāh Shur:

(352) Āvāz (p 37)

Although modes within the seven dastgāh were not preceded by any term, āvāz was again used to refer to the modes in general. In the table for the dastgāh of Segāh, Navā, and Shur, Forsat stated the following:

(353) Whatever āvāz are sung in Chahārgāh are sung in Segāh as well, except for Rajaz and Mansuri.[1] (p 35)

(354) These following āvāz are also employed in Navā.[2] (p 36)

(355) The āvāz-hā belonging to the dastgāh Shur are written below.[3] (p 37)

The tables of the seven dastgāh were followed by more explanations. Once more, āvāz was the general term to refer to the modes:

(356, 357) Some musicians have come up with another order, i.e., they have mentioned the names of the āvāz-hā in reverse order. Some others have left out a few āvāz.[4] (p 38)

(358, 359, 360) [The ancients] would be concerned that, for instance, an āvāz from another dastgāh would not enter this dastgāh. But in this new style, they mix and they pass many āvāz-hā from one dastgāh to another dastgāh. But this also has a

[1] «آنچه آواز در چهارگاه خوانده می‌شود، در سه‌گاه نیز می‌خوانند، مگر رجز و منصوری.»

[2] «این چند آواز ذیل را هم در نوا به‌کار می‌برند.»

[3] «آوازهای متعلق به دستگاه شور در ذیل نوشته می‌شود.»

[4] «بعضی به ترتیبی دیگر پیش آمده‌اند، یعنی به تقدیم و تأخیر اسم آوازها را ذکر نموده‌اند. برخی دیگر چند آواز را نام نبرده‌اند.»

rule and a secret; in this manner, the āvāz that are sung consecutively should be harmonious with each other.[1] (p 38)

The introduction on the music was followed by an explanation of various meter patterns of Persian poetry, which was then followed by an introductory note on the applicable modes to each poem. The note used āvāz as a general term to refer to the modes:

(361, 362, 363) The names of the āvāz-hā, which are written at the top of each ghazal [poem], were according to the approval and confirmation of six masters of this art, who resolved this with minuteness and consideration. But it should be considered that it does not mean that the entire ghazal from the beginning to the end should be sung in that āvāz, without including any other āvāz.[2] (p 55)

(364) […] or [criticizing me as], for instance, you say that this ghazal should be sung in āvāz Hodi.[3] (p 55)

(365, 366) When it is written that the ghazal should be sung in a certain gusheh, it means that they should pick the āvāz to which that gusheh belongs. […] For instance, it is written that a certain ghazal should be sung in āvāz Muyeh.[4] (p 56)

(367, 368, 369) If you say 'you approve an āvāz for a certain ghazal, then why did you allow a different āvāz for another ghazal, which is in the same meter and bahr [patterns of meter]?' I would say, here I have observed and considered to which āvāz the contents of the poems are applicable and suitable.[5] (p 56)

More phrases containing the term āvāz appeared in the explanatory addendum:

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[1] «[قدما] توهم می‌داشتند از این‌که مثلاً آوازی از دستگاه دیگر داخل در این دستگاه شود. و لیکن در این طرز جدید خلط نموده، بسیار از آوازهای دستگاهی به دستگاه دیگر عبور می‌دهند. اما این هم قاعده‌ای دارد و سری، به‌این طور که باید آوازهایی که به توالی خوانده می‌شوند، با هم ملایم باشند.»

[2] «آنچه بر صدر هر غزلی از نام آوازها نوشته شده است، به‌تجویز و تصدیق شش نفر از اهل این فن است که به‌دقت نظر و ملاحظات دیگر این‌طور رای دادند. ولی این نکته را باید دانست که مقصود این نیست که از اول آن غزل الی آخره به‌آن آواز خوانده شود، بدون این‌که دیگر آوازی را در آن مدخلیت باشد.»

[3] «یا مثلاً می‌گویی فلان غزل به‌آواز حدی خوانده شود.»

[4] «هرگاه نوشته شده به فلان گوشه غزل را بخواند، مقصود این است که آوازی را اختیار کند که آن گوشه در آن آواز است [...] مثلاً نوشته فلان غزل را به آواز مویه باید خواند.»

[5] «اگر بگویی در غزلی آوازی را تجویز نمودی و در غزل دیگر که به همان وزن و بحر است، چرا دیگر آوازی را اجازه دادی؟ می‌گویم: در این جاها ملاحظه و مراعات مضامین اشعار را هم کرده‌ام، که سزاوار و در خور کدام آواز است.»

(370, 371) You should know that any āvāz is applicable to the meter of Robā'i […] it depends on the singer's tact, to know the time and place [for singing Robā'i], and to employ the theme of āvāz for the right occasion.[1] (p 262–3)

(372) This meter […] is especially for āvāz Dashti, or Bakhtiāri, or Quchāni, etc.[2] (p 291)

(373) [Masnavi] is suitable to any bahr [meter pattern], and to each [bahr of Masnavi], an āvāz would be applicable.[3] (p 294)

(374) This meter of Masnavi […] is applicable to āvāz Dashti, or Bakhtiāri, or Quchāni as well, and it is also related to Dobeyti and Nowruz-e Khārā.[4] (p 295)

(375) [If] they sing [this] Masnavi […] in āvāz Qarāi and Meygoli, it would be elegant, and it appertains to naghmeh Leyli-Majnun.[5] (p 299)

(376) [This] Masnavi […] could be sung in any āvāz.[6] (p 301)

(377, 378) [This] Masnavi […] is suitable for āvāz Hodi, but it appertains to naghmeh Masnavi of the āvāz-hā.[7] (p 301)

The body of Forsat's book presented more than three hundred pieces of Persian poems along with applicable modes for singing them. The advice-giving notes for applying modes to the various poems followed a changing pattern, most probably because Forsat was compiling a book of poems, which he aimed to make stylistically beautiful. Some of the notes did not contain a

[1] «بدان که در وزن رباعی که اختصاص به بحر هزج دارد، هر آوازی سزاوار است [...] بسته به سلیقهٔ خواننده است که وقت و محل را بداند. هم‌چنین زمینهٔ آواز را به مقام خود به‌کار برد.»

[2] «این وزن [...] خاصهٔ آواز دشتی یا بختیاری یا قوچانی و امثال اینهاست.»

[3] «[مثنوی] به هر بحری می‌شاید و هر یک را آوازی مناسب است.»

[4] «این وزن مثنوی [...] به همان آواز دشتی یا بختیاری یا قوچانی نیز مناسب است، و دو بیتی و نوروز خارا را هم مطلوب است.»

[5] «[این] مثنوی [...] [را] به آواز قرائی و میگلی بخوانند نیکوست و نغمهٔ لیلی مجنون را اختصاص دارد.»

[6] «[این] مثنوی [...] را به هر آواز توان خواند.»

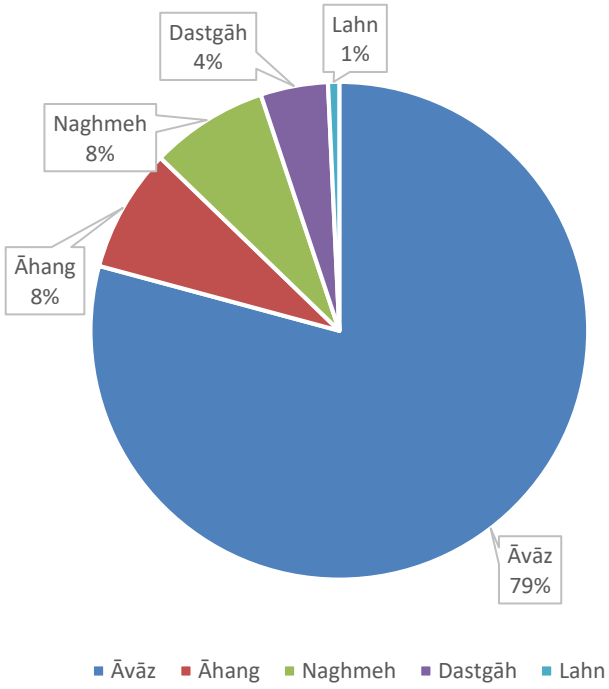
[7] «[این] مثنوی [...] آواز حدی را مناسب است، ولی نغمهٔ مثنوی آوازها را اختصاص دارد.»

modal term; some used more general terms such as naghmeh and āhang, which both refer to the term "melody"; a few of the notes used the term dastgāh; and most of them used āvāz. Regardless of the modal terms, most of the notes suggested the use of more than one mode: the first mode was usually preceded by a modal term and the remaining modes were included by using the connective words of "and" and "or." Table 15 presents lists the modal terms that preceded poems in the main body of *Bohur-ol-Alhān* and that could be considered general terms for modes, i.e., āvāz, āhang, naghmeh, dastgāh, and lahn, as they appeared in the notes. The table also includes a few cases in which a term was added to the end of the note meaning "among the other modes." The information in Table 15 is also presented as a pie chart to provide a visualization of the word counts.

Table 15: Distribution of the modal terms in *Bohur-ol-Alhān*

Terms	All	Āvāz	Āhang	Naghmeh	Dastgāh	Lahn
Appearance	274	217	22	21	12	2
Percentage	100%	79.2%	8%	7.7%	4.4%	0.7%

Chart 2: Distribution of the modal terms in *Bohur-ol-Alhān*.



Although the literal meaning of āvāz is "sound," and it denotes the non-rhythmic vocalizations in contemporary Persian music, Forsat utilized āvāz as a general term that preceded modes, even though his book was entirely about singing, because āvāz was used in the same way as other terms that preceded the modes, including naghmeh, āhang, and dastgāh. In addition, āvāz was used in combinations that referred to modes in general, such as "other āvāz-hā" (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 64, 94, 99, 194, 214), "most of the āvāz-hā" (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 57, 67), "many of the āvāz-hā" (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 72), and "the rest of the āvāz-hā" (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 91).

Chapter 9: Āvāz as the Main Term for Modes, 1920 to 1950

The first print books on Persian music, which were compiled by three distinguished authors—Ali-Naqi Vaziri, Ruhollah Khaleqi, and Mehdi-Qoli Hedāyat—were published between the early 1920s and the late 1940s. Ali-Naqi Vaziri (1887–1979) was the first Iranian musician who tried to incorporate Persian music with the European harmonic system, tonality, and polyphony, and Ruhollah Khaleqi (1906–1965), a student of Vaziri, pursued his ideas and produced more publications on Persian music. Mehdi-Qoli Hedāyat (1863–1955) was an aristocrat and the thirty-seventh Prime Minister of Persia (1927–1933), and a musicophile who tried to combine European music theory and music acoustics with the Islamic traditional discourses on music to explain the contemporary Persian music.

Ali-Naqi Vaziri was born to an extraordinary middle-class family. His father was an army officer of the Persian Cossack Brigade, and his mother was a pioneer activist of education and the modernization of Persian women. Vaziri started practicing Persian music with amateur musicians, and he studied theory of European music and harmony with Persian military musicians and a French Catholic priest residing in Tehran (Khoshzamir 1979, 53–54). That experience developed his enthusiasm to reach the sources of both musical cultures: eminent musicians in Tehran and music institutions in Paris and Berlin.

Vaziri's character was seemingly affected by both parents. On the one hand, he served as army officer until he resigned at the rank of full colonel—he is still often addressed as colonel. On the other hand, he was deeply fascinated and affected by the idea of adopting modern European culture. This combination resulted in a forceful character that made heroic efforts to establish a hybrid theoretical framework for Persian music and to adopt and adapt European musical forms and style.

Alfred Lemaire was the first writer to explain the Persian music system using European music theory; however, his account was merely a short note in French. Vaziri published the first Persian book, *Dastur-e Tār* (Vaziri 1923), which described the method for playing a Persian instrument and contained more detail of the Persian music system based on European music theory.

Vaziri published this book just before returning to Persia after having studied European music in Paris and Berlin for several years. *Dastur-e Tār* was published in 1923 at a publishing house founded by the Persian intellectuals residing in Berlin, Kaviani G.m.b.H and consisted of two parts: "Part one on the European or International music" and "Part two on the Vatani [homeland] or Irani music" (Vaziri 1923, 1). The second part of the book also contained theoretical discussions on the Persian modal system. Vaziri classified Persian modes based on a suggested scale of pitches used in the mode. After ten years of teaching music to his Iranian students, Vaziri published a new method for the tar and a method for the violin. The first volume for the violin was released in 1934 (Vaziri 1934b).

Shortly after publishing *Dastur-e Violon*, Vaziri's book on music theory came out. The first part of *Nazari-ye Musiqi* (*Music Theory*) was on the fundamentals of European music theory, the second part was dedicated to the theory of Persian music, and the third part was on the more advanced discourses on the European music. Vaziri gave an interesting title to the second part: *Āvāz-shenāsi (Nazari-ye Musiqi-ye Irani),* or *Āvāz-ology (The Theory of Iranian Music)* (Vaziri 1934a). By the term āvāz, Vaziri clearly meant mode, and āvāz-shenāsi meant the knowledge of Persian modes.

Vaziri followed his book on music theory with his volume on the harmony of Persian music entitled *Ārmoni-ye Musiqi-ye Iran* (Vaziri 1935).[1] Vaziri used various scale-related terms including French terms such as gamme, ton, and mode; however, āvāz was widely used as a general term for modes (*e.g.*, Vaziri 1935, 27).

Vaziri used āvāz as a general term for modes in a natural manner in his writings and speeches. On May 17, 1934, he addressed the audience of a graduation ceremony at Tehran Conservatory, and on December 21, 1937, he presented a public lecture on Iranian music at the University of Tehran. Āvāz was used in both speeches as a general term for modes (*e.g.*, Vaziri 1934e, 172; Vaziri 1938, 854).

Mehdi-Qoli Mokhber-os-Saltaneh (1863–1955), who later adopted Hedāyat as his surname, was an Iranian aristocrat. Hedāyat's name was included on the acknowledgment page of

[1] For a printed version see (Vaziri 2012).

Bohur-al-Alhān (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 4). Hedāyat was a musicophile and seemingly an amateur musician. He learned European music theory through reading books, and he mastered musical discourses in the classic Arabic and Persian texts. He became extremely knowledgeable about the Persian music system by transcribing the entire radif (Hedāyat 2014). His book on music theory was published as four volumes: the first volume dealt with the music acoustics and the fundamentals of music theory, the second dealt with the traditional music discourses, the third volume focused on the modal system of the contemporary Persian music, and the fourth volume discussed his suggestion for retrieving the thirteenth-century method of music transcription.

Ruhollah Khaleqi (1906–1965) was the most influential of Vaziri's students. He was born into a middle-class family of a civil servant, who was also an amateur tar player. Khaleqi was dedicated to Vaziri's approach of modernizing Persian music by adopting European polyphony. Following Vaziri's path, Khaleqi published a book on music theory in two volumes in 1937 (Khaleqi 1937) and 1938 (Khaleqi 1983), and a general book on Persian music in 1943 (Khaleqi 2012).

Even though these new publications were influenced by European music theory, they used āvāz to refer to modes. However, because their extensive use of āvāz, it is impossible to quote all instances and they are thus placed in tables as groups of quotations preceded by a sample quotation. Each sample is a quotation of a similar theme.

The most repeated use of āvāz was as a general term for modes, as either āvāz or āvāz-hā. For example, Vaziri stated the following about various cadences of each Persian mode in his *Dastur-e Tār*: "For each āvāz, there are a few different Foruz, which enter the *gamme* [scale] all like cadences and they end at their own occasion, and usually a Foruz is played after a modulation in order to return to the main āvāz" (112, f.n.1).[1] Table 16 lists the instances of using āvāz as general term for modes:

[1] «برای هر آوازی چند فروز مختلف هست که تماماً مثل کادانس Cadance وارد گام شده و در موقع خود ختم می‌شوند و اغلب پس از تغییر مد برای رجعت به‌آواز اصلی یک فروز زده می‌شود.»

Table 16: Instances of using āvāz for modes in general

Āvāz-hā; āvāz	(Vaziri 1923): 100; 100; 100; 100; 100; 112 fn1; 112 fn1; 120; 127; 127; 127; 127; 134; (Vaziri 1934b): 98; (Vaziri 1934a): 16; 21; 22; 22; 23; 26; 39; 54; 67; 71; 112; 143; 150; 161; 162; 165; 165; 171; 171; 171; (Vaziri 1934c): 81; 81; (Vaziri 1935): 27; 33fn; 45; 57; 57 fn; 72; 97; 100 fn; 111; 128; 128; 130; 130; 133; 135; 137; (Vaziri 1934e): 171; (Vaziri 1938): 854; 854; 854; 860; 934; (Vaziri 1932): 65; 65; 67. (Hedāyat 1938b): 9; (Hedāyat 1938c): 3; 3; 23; 71; (Hedāyat 1938d): 21; 30; 30; 31; 45; 46; 46; 47; 47; 48; 49; 50; 51; 52; 55; 62; 62 fn; 63; 63; 64; 65; 66; 76; 76; 80; 81; 81; 84; 84; 84; 84; 87; 87; 93; 93; 93; 119; 119; 124; 124; 124; 124; App 4; App 8; (Hedāyat 1938a): 3; 8; 8; 16; 18; 20; (Hedāyat 2006): 39; 40; 40; 41; 41; 42. (Khaleqi 1937): 21; 160; (Khaleqi 1983): 14; 125; 125 fn; 126; 126; 126 fn; 126 fn; 127; 127; 128; 133; 133; 134; 134; 134; 134 fn; 147 fn; 147 fn; 148 fn; 148 fn; 149; 149; 149; 149; 149 fn; 150; 150; 150; 150 fn; 151; 151; 156; 156 fn; 157; 157; 158 fn; 160 fn; 167; 167; 168; 168; 180 fn2; 180 fn2; 180 fn2; 186; 192; 192; 192; 192; 192; 192; 201; 201; 201; 203; 203; 204; 213; 250; 266; 267 fn1; 268; 268; 268; 269; 269; 269; 269; 269; 270; 270; 270; 270; 271; 271; 272; 272; 272 fn2; 272 fn2; 272 fn2; 272 fn2; 273; 273; 273; 273; 274; 284; 285; 287; 288; 301; 302; 312; (Khaleqi 2012): 60; 67; 89.

The second common use of āvāz also referred to modes in general; however, āvāz was combined with "Iran" or "our" to indicate the Iranian modes specifically. For example, Vaziri stated the following about the three-quarter tone intervals in Persian music: "In āvāz-hā of Iran, it is mostly the fifteen-degree and twenty-five-degree tones [three-quarter and five-quarter tones], which belong to Shur and Chahārgāh" [1] (Vaziri 1923, 100). Table 17 lists the instances of using āvāz to refer to modes of Iranian music specifically:

[1] «در آوازهای ایران بیشتر از همه پرده‌های ۱۵ و ۲۵ درجه‌ای است که مخصوص شور و چهارگاه است.»

Table 17: Instances of using āvāz for Persian general modes in general

Āvāz-hā of Iran; āvāz-hā of Iranian music; our āvāz-hā; āvāz-hā of our music;	(Vaziri 1923): 100; 100; 101 fn1; (Vaziri 1934b): 10; 60; 61; (Vaziri 1934d): 69; 81; (Vaziri 1934a): 10; 10; 10; 10; 20; 26; 69; 115; (Vaziri 1934c): 18; 47 fn1; 81; 211; 218; (Vaziri 1935): 33; 36; 52; 62; 63; 64; 88; 135; 137; 137; 138; (Vaziri 1934e): 172; (ditto); (Vaziri 1938): 933; (Vaziri 1932): 65. (Hedāyat 1938d): 112; 123. (Khaleqi 1937): 21; 161; (Khaleqi 1983): 13; 13; 13; 14; 126; 133; 147 fn; 147 fn; 163; 248; 264; 264; 265; 266; 267; 267; 268; 269; 270; 270; 271; 272; 273; 273; 273; 274; 274; 274; 300; 301; 315; (Khaleqi 2012): 120.

The radif, which contains the traditional repertory, was called "radif of āvāz-hā" by Vaziri and Khaleqi. Writing on the etymology of the Persian modes, Vaziri stated that the mode names were wrongly attributed to the musicians or the tribes who used them: "The master who classifies it [a mode attributed to the musicians or the tribes] in the radif of the āvāz-hā, takes the one [musician] who narrates it today as the origin, or his [that musician who narrated the mode] tribe if he [the master who classifies the modes in radif] thinks deeper" (Vaziri 1934a, 2:69–70).[1] Table 18 presents the remaining instances of 'radif of āvāz-hā":

Table 18: Instances of using āvāz as "radif of the āvāz"

Radif of āvāz-hā	(Vaziri 1934a): 44; 69. (Khaleqi 1983): 132; 151; 156; 172; 173 fn3; 180 fn2; 189; 199; 213; 283; 302; 318.

Vaziri and Khaleqi labeled the modes as āvāz-hā-ye asli (primary modes) and āvāz-hā-ye far'i (secondary modes) according to the extent of the modes. Vaziri wrote: "In each dastgāh, it is

[1] «استادی که آن را در ردیف آوازها طبقه‌بندی می‌نماید، گویندهٔ فعلی آن و اگر تعمق زیادتری بنمایند، قبیلهٔ آن را مأخذ می‌گیرد.»

possible to have two kinds of āvāz-e asli and far‘i (primary and secondary). Asli (primary) is an āvāz that is in the same *gamme* [scale], […] but far‘i (secondary) is an āvāz that is borrowed from other dastgāh-hā”[1] (Vaziri 1934a, 2:16–17). The use of far‘i was not quite clear because Khaleqi used it to refer to some modes that were in the same *gamme* of a certain dastgāh and did not have a more independent character (Khaleqi 1983, 2:126). However, Khaleqi used āvāz bozorg (big) and āvāz mostaqel (independent) to refer to the more extensive modes (Khaleqi 1983, 2:125–26). Table 19 shows the use of āvāz in combination with asli, far‘i, bozorg, and mostaqel:

Table 19: Instances of categorizing āvāz as primary and secondary modes

Āvāz Asli	(Vaziri 1934a): 16; 16.
Āvāz Far‘i	(Vaziri 1934b): 61; 132; 132; (Vaziri 1934a): 16; 17.
	(Khaleqi 1983): 125; 126; 218; (Khaleqi 2012): 59; 60.
Āvāz-hā-ye Bozorg	(Khaleqi 1983): 125.
Āvāz-hā-ye mostaqel	(Khaleqi 1983): 126.
Asl-e āvāz	(Hedāyat 1938d): 119; (ditto).

Most of the pieces within the traditional repertory of Persian music are performed in free-rhythm, and this was reflected by all three writers repeatedly. Sometimes they mentioned “non-rhythmic āvāz” and sometimes they added explanatory words to expound the concept of āvāz. Vaziri stated in his first publication: “In music up to a few years ago, whatever was about the āvāz-hā was all non-rhythmic, and it was delivered according to the exact narration of a certain musician” (Vaziri 1923, 97).[2] In relation to the non-rhythmic nature of the āvāz, the combination of “rhythmic āvāz” was used to refer to the rhythmic pieces in a certain āvāz. Table 20 lists instances of assigning the term āvāz to non-rhythmic and rhythmic pieces:

[1] «در هر دستگاه دو نوع آواز اصلی و فرعی می‌توان داشت: اصلی آوازیست که در همان گام است، [...] اما فرعی آوازیست که از دستگاه‌های دیگر قرض شده.»

[2] «تا چند سال پیش موسیقی، آنچه راجع به‌آوازها بود، تمام بی‌ضرب و موافق نص حدیث هر موزیسنی به‌دیگری تحویل داده.»

Table 20: Instances of using āvāz in relation to rhythm

Non-rhythmic character of āvāz	(Vaziri 1923): 97. (Hedāyat 1938d): 118. (Khaleqi 1937): 21; (ditto); 161; (ditto); (Khaleqi 1983): 270; (ditto); 284; (Khaleqi 2012): 53.
Non-rhythmic āvāz	(Vaziri 1923): 100; (Vaziri 1934a): 15; (Vaziri 1935): 111; (Vaziri 1932): 65. (Khaleqi 1983): 284. (Hedāyat 1938d): 123.
Rhythmic āvāz	(Vaziri 1923): 134.

Āvāz was not only used for the modes of Persian traditional music, but also to refer to the historical modes of the classic musical texts. It was even used to refer to the ancient modes that were attributed to the pre-Islam legendary musician, Bārbad. The celebrated writer of the twentieth century, Mohammad-Ali Jamalzadeh (1892–1997) published an article titled "Āvāz-hā-ye Qadimi-ye Iran" (The Ancient Āvāz-hā of Iran) in the Iranian journal of music, *Majalleh-ye Musiqi*. The article used āvāz to refer to the modes attributed to Bārbad (Jamalzadeh 1940, 1, 4, 5). In addition, Mehdi-Qoli Hedāyat used the title "Asāmi-ye Āvāz-hā" (The Names of the Āvāz-hā) for the section narrating the same story of Bārbad's modes (Hedāyat 1938c, 2:70–71). Table 21 shows instances of using āvāz to refer to the old modes.

Table 21: Instances of using āvāz for Persian modes from the previous systems

Āvāz for old modes	(Vaziri 1934a): 165; (Vaziri 1938): 854.
	(Khaleqi 2012): 39.
Ancient āvāz in	(Hedāyat 1938d): 93; 98.
relation to recent	(Khaleqi 1983): 213.
āvāz	
Āvāz-hā for	(Vaziri 1923): 97; 97 fn1; (Vaziri 1934b): 114.
traditional repertory	(Hedāyat 1938b): 170.
Āvāz for Bārbad's	(Hedāyat 1938c): 70; 70; 70; 71; 71.
tunes	

Finally, Table 22 lists instances in which āvāz is used occasionally, which include the following quotations. Vaziri once used a combination of dastgāh of āvāz-hā: "For each instrument, and especially for the bowed and plucked instruments in particular, there are different tunings for playing each dastgāh of the āvāz-hā" [1] (Vaziri 1934a, 2:62). He also defined gusheh as small āvāz: "What is currently common in Māhur, consists of small āvāz-hā, which we call gusheh-hā"[2] (Vaziri 1934a, 2:66). Vaziri also used āvāz as an equivalent of *gamme* (scale), the adopted French term for scale (Vaziri 1923, 113, 1934a, 2:16), and Vaziri and Khaleqi both used the combination of "āvāz-hā-ye Orupā'i" to refer to the European modes, which clearly indicated the use of āvāz as a general term for modes or keys (Vaziri 1934e, 172; Khaleqi 1983, 2:271).

[1] «در هر سازی و مخصوصاً از همه بیشتر در سازهای آرشه‌ای و مضرابی برای نواختن دستگاه آوازها کوک‌های مختلفی هست.»

[2] «در ماهور آنچه اکنون معمولست، عبارت از آوازهای کوچکی است که گوشه می‌نامیم.»

Table 22: Instances of using āvāz in relation to dastgāh, gusheh, scale, and Europe

Dastgāh of āvāz	(Vaziri 1934a): 62.
Gusheh defined as small āvāz	(Vaziri 1934a): 66.
Āvāz equivalent of gamme (scale)	(Vaziri 1923): 113; (ditto); (Vaziri 1934a): 16.
Āvāz-hā of Europe	(Vaziri 1934e): 172. (Khaleqi 1983): 271.

Since āvāz was the traditional term to refer to the modes, the seven dastgāh and various modes that were classified within the seven dastgāh were preceded by the term āvāz. Similarly, āvāz was used within the text to refer to a certain mode while explaining that mode. There are many instances of using āvāz instead of dastgāh, preceding a part of a dastgāh with the term āvāz, and using āvāz to refer to a dastgāh or a mode within a dastgāh. Tables 23 to 29 present the various instances of using āvāz to refer to specific modes.

Table 23: Instances of using āvāz for dastgāh Shur and its related modes

Āvāz Shur (for dastgāh Shur)	(Vaziri 1923): 126; (Vaziri 1934b): 61; (Vaziri 1935): 97. (Khaleqi 1983): 127; 131; 133; 146; 147; 147; 147; 147; 147; 148; 149. 149; 149; 162; 178; 196; 200; 238; 287.
Āvāz refers to Shur (for dastgāh Shur)	(Vaziri 1923): 120; 120; (Vaziri 1935): 27; (ditto); 53. (Hedāyat 1938d): 93. (Khaleqi 1983): 131; 146; 146; 147; 147; 147; 148; 173.
Āvāz Abu-Atā	(Vaziri 1934b): 147. (Khaleqi 1983): 151; 151; 151; 152; 153; 198.
Āvāz refers to Abu-Atā	(Vaziri 1934b): 127. (Hedāyat 1938d): 94. (Khaleqi 1983): 151; 152; 152.
Āvāz Hejāz	(Khaleqi 1983): 126; 152.
Āvāz refers to Hejāz	(Khaleqi 1983): 166; (ditto); 173 fn3; (ditto).
Āvāz Bayāt Tork	(Vaziri 1923): 86; 89; 147; (Vaziri 1935): 84. (Khaleqi 1983): 156; 157.
Āvāz refers to Bayāt Tork	(Vaziri 1923): 128. (Khaleqi 1983): 151; 153; 154; 156; 156; 156; 156 fn; 157.
Āvāz Afshāri	(Khaleqi 1983): 159; 160; 161; 162; 162; 162; 163; 164; 165; 172; 218.
Āvāz refers to Afshāri	(Vaziri 1934a): 44; 44; 137. (Khaleqi 1983): 158; 159; 160; 163; 163; 164; 164; 172.
Āvāz Rohāb	(Khaleqi 1983): 164.
Āvāz refers to Rohāb	(Khaleqi 1983): 162.
Āvāz Erāq	(Khaleqi 1983): 163.
Āvāz refers to Erāq	(Khaleqi 1983): 164.
Āvāz Shekasteh	(Khaleqi 1983): 159 fn.
Āvāz refers to Gerāyli	(Vaziri 1934c): 95.
Āvāz Dashti	(Vaziri 1934b): 64; 147. (Hedāyat 1938d): 94.

	(Khaleqi 1983): 147; 165; 165; 166; 166; 167; 167; 168; 169; 170; 204 fn2.
Āvāz refers to Dashti	(Khaleqi 1983): 166; 167; 168; 168; 168; 169.
Āvāz refers to Gilaki	(Khaleqi 1983): 168.

Table 24: Instances of using āvāz for dastgāh Māhur and its related modes

Āvāz Māhur (for dastgāh Māhur)	(Vaziri 1923): 100; 100; 101; (Vaziri 1934b): 147; (Vaziri 1934a): 65; 65; 69; (Vaziri 1935): 121. (Hedāyat 1938b): 178; (Hedāyat 1938d): 83; 88. (Khaleqi 1937): 71; 71 fn; (Khaleqi 1983): 129; 176; 185; 187; 187.
Āvāz refers to Māhur (for dastgāh Māhur)	(Hedāyat 1938d): 85; 103; App 5. (Khaleqi 1983): 128; 176; 185; 185; 186; 186.
Āvāz Shekasteh	(Khaleqi 1983): 186.
Āvāz refers to Shekasteh	(Khaleqi 1983): 177.
Āvāz Erāq	(Khaleqi 1983): 186.
Āvāz refers to Rāk	(Vaziri 1934a): 67.

Table 25: Instances of using āvāz for dastgāh Homāyun and its related modes

Āvāz Homāyun (for dastgāh Homāyun)	(Vaziri 1923): 112. (Khaleqi 1937): 71; 71 fn; (ditto); (Khaleqi 1983): 179; 199; 199; 199; 204; 204 fn2; 204 fn2; 205; 321.
Āvāz refers to Homāyun (for dastgāh Homāyun)	(Vaziri 1923): 112; (Vaziri 1935): 27; (ditto). (Hedāyat 1938d): 99; 100. (Khaleqi 1983): 199; (ditto); 204; 204; 206.
Āvāz Bayāt Esfahān	(Vaziri 1934a): 161. (Khaleqi 1983): 106; 126; 179; 207; 208; 209; 210; 211; 212; 213; 213; 214; 214.
Āvāz refers to Bayāt Esfahān	(Vaziri 1934a): 160. (Khaleqi 1937): 71; (ditto); 71 fn; (ditto); (Khaleqi 1983): 210; 214; 214.
Āvāz refers to Chakāvak	(Khaleqi 1983): 199.
Āvāz Bidād	(Khaleqi 1983): 205.
Āvāz Shushtari	(Khaleqi 1983): 200.

Table 26: Instances of using āvāz for dastgāh Chahārgāh and its related modes

Āvāz Chahārgāh (for dastgāh Chahārgāh)	(Vaziri 1923): 121; 127; (Vaziri 1935): 104; 106. (Khaleqi 1983): 200; 236; 239; 242; 248; 248; 249; 269.
Āvāz refers to Chahārgāh (for dastgāh Chahārgāh)	(Vaziri 1923): 113; 113. (Khaleqi 1983): 236; 240; 285.
Āvāz Zābol	(Khaleqi 1983): 248; 268.
Āvāz refers to Zābol	(Khaleqi 1983): 240; 240.
Āvāz Muyeh	(Khaleqi 1983): 238; 248.
Āvāz refers to Muyeh	(Khaleqi 1983): 240; (ditto); 240; (ditto).
Āvāz Maghlub	(Khaleqi 1983): 239.
Āvāz refers to Maghlub	(Khaleqi 1983): 239; 240; (ditto); 240; (ditto).
Āvāz Mokhālef	(Khaleqi 1983): 200; 248; 269.
Āvāz refers to Mokhālef	(Khaleqi 1983): 240; (ditto); 240; (ditto).
Āvāz Pahlavi	(Hedāyat 1938d): 102 fn.
Āvāz Mansuri	(Khaleqi 1983): 200.
Āvāz refers to Mansuri	(Khaleqi 1983): 236.

Table 27: Instances of using āvāz for dastgāh Segāh and its related modes

Āvāz Segāh (for dastgāh Segāh)	(Khaleqi 1983): 160; 216; 216; 218; 219; 221 fn; 229; 229; 229; 239.
Āvāz refers to Segāh (for dastgāh Segāh)	(Vaziri 1923): 127; 127; (Vaziri 1934a): 137. (Khaleqi 1983): 216; 216; 216; 221; 229; 240; (ditto).
Āvāz Zābol	(Khaleqi 1983): 219.
Āvāz refers to Zābol	(Khaleqi 1983): 220.
Āvāz Muyeh	(Khaleqi 1983): 221.
Āvāz refers to Muyeh	(Khaleqi 1983): 219; 220; (ditto).
Āvāz Mokhālef	(Khaleqi 1983): 220; 220; 220.
Āvāz Maghlub	(Khaleqi 1983): 220.
Āvāz refers to Maghlub	(Khaleqi 1983): 220.

Table 28: Instances of using āvāz for dastgāh Navā and its related modes

Āvāz Navā (for dastgāh Navā)	(Vaziri 1935): 114; 115. (Khaleqi 1983): 128; 170; 172; 172; 172; 173; 173; 174; 174; 175.
Āvāz refers to Navā (for dastgāh Navā)	(Vaziri 1923): 127. (Hedāyat 1938d): 98; 98. (Khaleqi 1983): 174; 174; 174.
Āvāz refers to Nahoft	(Khaleqi 1983): 173 fn3.

Table 29: Instances of using āvāz for dastgāh Rāst-Panjgāh and its related modes

Āvāz Rāst-Panjgāh (for dastgāh Rāst-Panjgāh); Āvāz Rāst	(Vaziri 1935)1: 72. (Khaleqi 1983): 189; 190; 191; 192; 193.
Āvāz refers to Rāst-Panjgāh (for dastgāh Rāst-Panjgāh)	(Vaziri 1923): 128; (Vaziri 1935): 128; 128; 130. (Khaleqi 1983): 128; (ditto); 189; 189; 190; 192; 192; 192; 193; 193; 193; 193; 193.

The current repertory of Persian classical music named radif consists of hundreds of pieces and includes a specific piece named Āvāz, which is classified within dastgāh Māhur (Talai 1995, 368) and was mentioned by Vaziri and Hedāyat (Vaziri 1934b, 1:46; Hedāyat 1938d, 3:85, 108). Hedāyat extended the use of āvāz as a piece within a dastgāh and used āvāz to name the entry piece that presented the central mode of the dastgāh before modulating to another mode. Table 30 shows the instances of using āvāz as a piece in the radif.

Table 30: Instances of using āvāz as a specific part of each dastgāh

Āvāz as a piece in Māhur	(Vaziri 1934b): 46. (Hedāyat 1938d): 85; 108.
Āvāz as a piece in Rāk	(Hedāyat 1938d): 85.
Āvāz as a piece in Shur	(Hedāyat 1938d): 92; 92.
Āvāz as a piece in Dashti	(Hedāyat 1938d): 94.
Āvāz as a piece in Abu-Atā	(Hedāyat 1938d): 94.
Āvāz as a piece in Afshār	(Hedāyat 1938d): 94.
Āvāz as a piece in Bayāt Tork	(Hedāyat 1938d): 94.
Āvāz as a piece in Bayāt Kord	(Hedāyat 1938d): 94.
Āvāz as a piece in Chahārgāh	(Hedāyat 1938d): 96.
Āvāz as a piece in Zābol Chahārgāh	(Hedāyat 1938d): 96.
Āvāz as a piece in Navā	(Hedāyat 1938d): 98.
Āvāz as a piece in Homāyun	(Hedāyat 1938d): 100.
Āvāz as a piece in Rāst-Panjgāh	(Hedāyat 1938d): 103.
Āvāz as a piece in Segāh	(Hedāyat 1938d): 105.

Conclusion to Part III

Following on from Part II, which showed the emergence of the dastgāh in its native context as a multimodal performance suite, Part III shows that āvāz was the term used for modes of Persian music and details how āvāz was used as a model term in various sources including musical texts, travel diaries, early scores of Persian music published in Europe, Persian record labels and catalogs, early published musical texts by traditional authors, and early published books by the authors who were acquainted with European music theory. Although nineteenth-century musical texts copied discourses from the previous books, a comparison between *Bahjat-ol-Qolub* and *Bahjat-or-Ruh* shows that āvāz was used as the general term for modes in the original parts of the musical texts in the nineteenth century. Similarly, an addendum to the end of two different texts listed contemporary modes under the title "The Names of the Āvāz-hā." Last, one musical text, which briefly mentioned Indian ragas, stated that the raga of Indian music was equivalent to the āvāz of Persian music, thus denoting that āvāz was equivalent of the Indian raga in Persian music.

Āvāz was also used as a modal term in non-musical texts. Several writers in the nineteenth century, including Nāser-od-Din Shah, used āvāz to refer to modes. Āvāz was also used to refer to music tunes or pieces. For instance, Nāser-od-Din Shah used āvāz for the national anthem of Persia and for various pieces performed by the bands of the German beer breweries, indicating a habitual use of āvāz. Āvāz seemed to be the first term that came to the mind of Persians when they needed to speak about music entities; thus, when Persians confronted unfamiliar music entities, they referred to them as āvāz.

When Alfred Lemaire published the first scores of Persian art music, he added a note to the volume about the "Les *âvâz* persans," which mentioned âvāz eleven times, making it the most repeated word of the text. Similarly, almost all the modes that appeared on the Gramophone Company's Persian records were accompanied by the term āvāz. The significance of the Gramophone record labels is that the information contained on the labels was obtained from the various musicians who were engaged in the recording session; thus, the record labels provided information that is comparable to the results of fieldwork, and some labels were even written in the style of spoken language.

Two accounts of the seven dastgāh system were authored by the traditional Persian writers in the early twentieth century. *The Treatise on the Seven Dastgāh* by Mirza Shafi was structured as seven chapters according to the seven dastgāh, followed by an eighth chapter on the recent innovations in Persian music. However, the description of each dastgāh consisted of several āvāz, and Mirza Shafi considered twelve āvāz for each dastgāh in a symbolic way. The second text, compiled by a poet, was a collection of poems accompanied by suitable modes for singing each poem. The author presented several traditional discourses on music in the introduction to the book and included descriptions of the seven dastgāh; however, āvāz was used as the general term for modes in the introduction and addendum to the book. Similarly, āvāz was the most repeated term in the explanatory titles of the poems, which advised suitable modes for singing each poem.

During the 1920s and 1930s, three influential writers published the earliest Persian books on music. Ali-Naqi Vaziri learned Persian music from the last generation of the traditional Persian musicians and then spent a few years in France and Germany studying European music. Ruhollah Khaleqi (1906–1965) studied European music at Vaziri's school in Tehran. Mehdi-Qoli Hedāyat (1863–1955) learned European music theory and music acoustics through reading books and became knowledgeable about Persian music by transcribing the entire radif. While the three writers had different levels of knowledge about European and Persian music theory, all three writers used āvāz widely as a general term for modes.

As there are too many instances of using āvāz in the various books by Vaziri, Khaleqi, and Hedāyat, they are categorized based on the various themes of utilization:

- Āvāz or āvāz-hā as a general term for modes.
- Āvāz-hā of Iran for the Persian modes.
- Radif of āvāz-hā for the repertory of the Persian classical music.
- Āvāz Asli/Far'i/Bozorg/Mostaqel to suggest a hierarchy for modes.
- Ancient āvāz for the Persian modes in the past.
- Āvāz-hā of Europe for the European modes.
- Dastgāh of āvāz for a dastgāh.
- Āvāz for all seven dastgāh and for various modes within each dastgāh.

The above list shows traditional Persian musicians in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries used āvāz as the general term for the modes of Persian music, which is supported by the first catalog of commercial Persian music records. Āvāz was also used as the term for modes in non-musical writings in the nineteenth century, and the new generation of Persian musicians used āvāz to refer to the modes of Persian music, even though they typically used European music theory to define the Persian modal system.

Part IV examines the influence of the early commercial recordings on the system of Persian music and attempts to explain how it affected the status of āvāz and dastgāh. It also shows how a few popular āvāz were highlighted by the process of recording and releasing Persian music of shellac records during the interwar period.

Part IV: The Role of the Recording Technology on the Evolution of the Persian Modal System, c.1900-c.1950

Introduction to Part IV

While Part II and Part III respectively showed the concept of dastgāh in the native Persian context and the use of āvāz as the term for Persian modes, the last part of the dissertation examines the role of the commercial recordings of Persian music in the evolution of the modal system and the emergence of the system of the seven dastgāh and five āvāz, a system that was defined as the twelve dastgāh, as described in Part I.

Chapter 10 discusses Persians' first encounters with phonographs and the growing enthusiasm for phonographs among the wealthy Persians, including the Shah. That is followed by a description of the first session of commercial recordings in Persia, which was conducted by the Gramophone Company in Tehran in 1906.

Chapters 11 and 12 examine the statistical data analysis of the Persian modes recorded during eleven recording sessions: eight recording sessions by the Gramophone Company in 1906, 1909, 1912, 1926, 1928, 1929, and 1933, two recording sessions by the Columbia Gramophone Company in 1928 and 1933, and one recording session by Polyphon Musikwerke in 1928. The data of the recorded modes are extracted from the original record catalogs and from a recent discographical research study on Persian records.

Chapter 11 analyzes the mode names used on the record labels, when appearing either individually or with another mode, and the frequency of the individual mode names. Record tracks are therefore considered individually, even if they appeared on double-sided records. This approach helps to understand how the recordings of music influenced various individual modes. Chapter 12 examines only double-sided records, counting each double-sided record as one record unit and considering only those records that followed a pattern for coupling tracks; records that fall outside of the regular patterns are excluded. To minimize the effect of random data, the eleven recording sessions from 1906 to 1933 are analyzed as three recording periods. Moreover, relative frequencies of modes are used in the data analysis instead of absolute frequencies to minimize the effect of the total number of recordings in each session.

Part I of the dissertation showed that the set of seven dastgāh and five sub-dastgāh were introduced to the literature of musicology and ethnomusicology in the 1950s and later redefined as the twelve dastgāh. Part II showed that the dastgāh was a multimodal performance suite consisting of several āvāz grouped around a central āvāz, and by the beginning of the twentieth century, it was established as a set of seven dastgāh. Part III showed that the āvāz was the modal entity of Persian music, and this part shows how a few āvāz achieved increased popularity and status through the impact of recordings, and thus became closer to the seven dastgāh. Music recordings influenced the Persian modal system by extending the more popular āvāz and transforming them into sub-dastgāh. The pattern of making double-sided Persian records, i.e., allocating one double-sided record to each dastgāh or extended āvāz, influenced the modal system because it forced musicians to squeeze a dastgāh or extend a popular āvāz so that a dastgāh could fit on one double-sided record and a popular āvāz could fill both sides of the double-sided record. That process shows the transition of the seven dastgāh into the seven dastgāh and five sub-dastgāh, which merged conceptually into the twelve dastgāh eventually.

Chapter 10: Early years of the Recording Industry in Persia

The first time a Persian is known to have written about his encounter with a sound recording device was in 1880. En route to the annual Hajj pilgrimage, Prince Soltān-Morād Hesām-os-Saltaneh (1822–1882) visited the American School in Istanbul on Monday, October 18, 1880, and wrote the following in his diary:

> Then we proceeded to the *phonograph* speech room, where, by anatomization of the organs and parts of the ear, they had designed a device with which they recorded the voice and tone of the man and they returned the words with the same voice and tone so it seemed that the same person was speaking. This device is sorcery.[1] (Hesām-os-Saltaneh 1992, 84)

Whether Nāser-od-Din Shah read the travel diary of his uncle, Prince Hesām-os-Saltaneh, or Prince Hesām-os-Saltaneh mentioned his wonders orally, it is not yet clear how Nāser-od-Din Shah came to know about phonographs or when the first phonograph entered Persia. However, by early 1889, when Nāser-od-Din Shah left Persia on his third visit to Europe, he already owned a phonograph. In July, 1899, George Edward Gouraud (1842–1912), Edison's agent in Europe, presented the "perfected phonograph" to Nāser-od-Din Shah at Ashridge Castle, the residence of Earl Brownlow.[2] Although local newspapers reported that the Shah had never seen or heard "the nineteenth-century necromancy of the speech-box" before (*Sheffield Evening Telegraph* 1889), the Shah compared the new model to the one that he had in Tehran, concluding that the new one produced a higher quality sound and was easier to work with (N.-D. Shah 1992b, 2:73). Mozaffar-od-Din Shah, Nāser-od-Din Shah's successor, was fascinated by the recording machine, and he placed orders for the "Multiplex Grand" and the smallest machine, both manufactured by the Columbia Graphophone Company (Hazelcorn 1999, 257). In his travel diary of 1902, Mozaffar-

[1] «بعد به اطاق فنگراف سخن رفتیم که از روی تشریح اجزا و آلات گوش اسباب اختراع کرده بودند که کلمات صوت و لهجه شخص را در آن اسباب ضبط می نمودند و باز به همان صوت و لهجه کلمات را پس می دادند که گویا خود آن شخص سخن می گوید و این اسباب از صنایع غریبه است.»

[2] Adelbert Brownlow-Cust (1844–1921), the third Earl Brownlow.

od-Din Shah mentioned the purchase of phonographs and accessories, and he recorded some performances on his phonographs (M.-D. Shah 1903, 8, 76, 98, 105, 112, 125, 132, 150).

Figure 19: Mozaffar-od-Din Shah with the Columbia Multiplex Grand Phonograph (Adle 2001).

The Persian Royal Family and Persian nobles also purchased some recording devices. On November 7, 1898, Prince Qahramān Eyn-os-Saltaneh (1872–1945) mentioned that his brother-in-law, Ahmad Nasir-od-Dowleh (1870–1930), had brought a phonograph from Europe, adding that he had seen a phonograph in Qazvin before (Eyn-os-Saltaneh 1995, 2:1347). Ali Zahir-od-Dowleh (1864–1924), a celebrated patron of music in the early twentieth century, mentioned recording his own performance on the piano into the phonograph while he was in Europe in 1900; the lack of wonder in his tone implied that he had used the device before (Zahir-od-Dowleh 1992,

285). The boy favorite of Nāser-od-Din Shah, Gholām-Ali Aziz-os-Soltān (1879–1940), started writing a diary in 1902 and he mentioned phonographs in several houses of Persian nobles (Aziz-os-Soltan 1997, 1:130, 217, 220, 276, 317, 370, 374, 380, 381, 459).

Those who could not afford to purchase a talking machine had a chance to observe one at noble houses or public places. As Prince Qahramān Eyn-os-Saltaneh wrote in 1898, two phonographs were set up at two venues in Tehran and people could experience the wonder of a talking machine by paying a fee of ten Shahis (Eyn-os-Saltaneh 1995, 2:1347). According to a 1896 report by John Tyler, US Vice Consul General in Tehran, ten Shahis were equal to US$0.05; thus, a field or day laborer who received the lowest wages could spend one-third of his daily wage to purchase seven eggs or explore the magic of the talking machine (Tyler 1896, 375–77). Therefore, listening to a mechanically reproduced sound could have been quite affordable for the middle-class Persians in 1898; however, it is hard to believe that the poor-quality sound it produced was a strong reason to have a talking machine at home, at least during the first several decades. Nonetheless, phonographs were used for recording sound and playing back the same recordings. Cylinders of European music were occasionally imported into Persia (Aziz-os-Soltan 1997, 1:370); however, there are no reports of commercial recordings of Persian music on cylinders.

In 1905, the Gramophone Company sent two recording engineers to Persia. John Tyler, US Vice Consul General in Tehran, arranged an audience with Mozaffar-od-Din Shah for the Gramophone Company's representative, Maxim Pick, and two recording engineers, Frantz and Max Hampe (Kinnear 2000b, 5). The Gramophone Company was issued a Royal Decree to receive help from the government, and the company was honored to be the Shah's special "fournisseur"[1] (Shahrestani 2002, 214). The Hampe brothers recorded the Shah when he addressed his Grand Vizier, and they recorded the Grand Vizier and the minister of Foreign Affairs both addressing His Majesty (Rajaee 2002). Hampe brothers' audience with Mozaffar-od-Din Shah turned into a unique landmark in the history of Persia. For the first time, the voice of a Shah was recorded and became available for those who never had a chance to hear a Shah. Moreover, it was the first time that a recording company recorded Persian music and thousands of records were spread across the society. The recordings made in 1906 provide a good example of the artistic style of music

[1] Provider, supplier, vendor.

performance. In addition, the first field recording of Persian music by European sound engineers documented and transmitted valuable information on Persian music.

The 1906 recording session was a unique event in terms of the number of musicians and bands that performed for the Gramophone Company. Several bands of Persian music as well as European military bands were engaged in that recording session and dozens of individuals or duos recorded their performances for the Gramophone Company. Many names remained in the history of Persian music only because they appeared on the record labels. Moreover, it was the first direct narration from professional musicians who had not transmitted their knowledge of music as written documents. Thus, the catalog of Persian records serves as the earliest source of information on Persian music as it would have been performed in practice. During the recording session in 1906, dozens of Persian musicians performed for the recording engineers and shared their knowledge about the pieces they were recording. Notably, none of the succeeding recording sessions engaged as many musicians as that first session. In 1909, a group of seven musicians were brought to London by the Gramophone Company's representative, Hambartsum Hairapetian, and they recorded around two hundred tracks. During the following recording session in Tehran in 1912, around seventy percent of the musical recordings were of three female singers with a solo accompaniment, none of whom showed a deep knowledge of the modes or sophisticated performance skills. The remaining thirty percent of the recordings were of seven musicians. The same pattern more or less applied to the subsequent recording sessions from 1926 to 1933; however, the collective recording of several bands and dozens of musicians never occurred again during the following recording session.

The Persian catalog by the Gramophone Company in 1906 was intended to present Persian records within Persia. The primary goal of making a Persian catalog must have been to promote the sales of the talking machines. The whole process of arranging the recording session in Tehran, transporting matrices from Western Europe to Persia, transporting matrices back to Hanover, and shipping the released records to Persia was a difficult procedure in 1906. By no means would selling records compensate for all the expenses. Although the Royal Family and the Persian elite purchased many phonograph devices, there is no tangible evidence that a gramophone device existed prior to 1906. Therefore, the main goal of making a Persian catalog must have been to introduce the Gramophone Company's disc playback machines to Persian society. It is worth

noting that a recording company's economic goal of selling disc playback devices provided a medium for Persian musicians not only to leave their actual music and performance style, but also their knowledge of music including their terminology for names of modes. The gramophone Company's Persian catalog became the earliest text on the modes and the music system of Persian music at the beginning of the twentieth century. The Gramophone Company's recording engineers might have been aware of the value of their work for the history of Persian music because they provided the earliest audible samples of Persian music. However, it is unlikely that they were aware of the true value of the information they registered.

The recording session by the Gramophone Company's recording operators was an early field recording of Persian music by Europeans. The result of the work, which was a type of "fieldwork,"[1] became the earliest documentation of the new Persian modal system with its set of seven dastgāh and dozens of āvāz. Thus, the musicians who recorded for the Gramophone Company in 1906 rendered an anthology of the knowledge of music. Despite the immense significance of the Gramophone Company's Persian catalog as the earliest text on the Persian modes, the unintentional but invaluable documentation of Persian music by the Hampe brothers has not yet attracted the attention it deserves. Limited numbers of blank discs and short duration of three minutes for each performance forced musicians to perform more popular modes and pieces briefly, particularly because the recording session was affected by the railroad strikes in Russia and half of the blank discs never arrived (Kinnear 2000b, 6). Although a dastgāh required a long performance of various āvāz, the seven dastgāh were recorded on seven sets of five to seven discs only. Table 31 lists all seven dastgāh with their āvāz (Gramophone 1906, 23–29).

[1] Similar recording sessions were conducted in non-Western countries during the first decade of the twentieth century. For instance, several recording sessions were held in India from 1900 to 1910 (see: Kinnear 2000a, 2016).

Table 31: Details of the seven dastgāh recorded in 1906

Chahārgāh	1. Darāmad
	2. Zābol and Muyeh
	3. Hesār
	4. Mokhālef
	5. Maghlub
	6. Tasnif
	7. [Tasnif] Mokhālef with Reng
Navā	1. Darāmad and Tasnif
	2. Shekasteh Kuchak
	3. Hoseyn
	4. Pahlavi and Hoseyn with Tasnif
	5. Leyli-Majnun with Tasnif
Homāyun	1. Darāmad and Abol
	2. Shekasteh, Tasnif
	3. Leyli-Majnun
	4. Bidād
Shur	1. Darāmad Ashirān with Tasnif
	2. Shur with Tasnif
	3. Salmak with Tasnif
	4. Ghazāl [Ozzāl] with Tasnif
	5. Shahnāz with Tasnif and Reng
Segāh	1. Darāmad with Tasnif
	2. Zābol with Tasnif
	3. Mokhālef with Tasnif
	4. Hesār with Tasnif
	5. Muyeh with Tasnif
Māhur	1. Darāmad
	2. Bayāt Tork in Māhur
	3. Tasnif Kār-Amal
	4. Āvāz Feyli
	5. Āvāz Delkash
	6. Erāq with Tasnif and Reng
Rāst-Panjgāh	1. Darāmad Rāst
	2. Rāst-Panjgāh
	3. Sāqi-nāmeh
	4. Does not exist
	5. Nowruz Sabā with Tasnif and Reng

Spreading records across the society had a profound impact on mode popularity among Persian audiences. Recording more popular āvāz more frequently could maximize a recording company's profits, make popular āvāz even more popular, and bring greater fame for the musicians. Often the musicians heard the more popular āvāz and tried to play more popular pieces to receive more adoration and money in return. Thus, the recording industry played a principal role in the classicization of the Persian music system by spreading limited records in selected modes, not only in Tehran, but also across many cities and villages. Most of the recordings were of the musicians residing in Tehran who were dominated by the version of the music system that was common in Tehran. Those recordings strongly influenced musicians from other cities, such as Esfahān, Kāshān, Shiraz, Kerman, and Tabriz. While some musicians traveled around and encountered local traditions in various cities, commercial recordings of music provided a chance for all musicians to encounter the style of music that was performed in Tehran. Thus, various ethnicities around Persia were introduced to a limited version of the urban music system that was popular in Tehran. The popular āvāz were highlighted over the following decades, while the remaining āvāz were downgraded as gusheh of a dastgāh or popular āvāz.

Chapter 11: Data Analysis of Mode Names on Labels

The first two Persian catalogs were published by the Gramophone Company in 1906 and 1909. (Gramophone 1906, 1909). These catalogs have additional value, which resulted from a technical problem. It seems that the difficulty of printing Persian words persuaded the Gramophone Company to use the same stamps for the Persian words on the label and catalog entry for each record. Thus, while labels and catalog entries in French could show variations, the Persian parts of the catalog entries were printed using the same stamps for the labels, as the following examples from the two recording sessions show.

Figure 20: Catalog entries and labels in Persian from 1906 (3-12674) and 1909 (2-012002).

This means that each catalog entry has the same label that appeared on the Persian record; therefore, having the catalog is as having access to all of the record labels in Persian. Thus, the data written in Persian that are included in those catalogs show the exact written data that were spread across the society. The catalog of the subsequent recording session in 1912 was printed using different stamps, however, the record labels and catalog entries registered similar information (Gramophone 1912, 1913). The Gramophone Company published a comprehensive catalog of Persian records in 1914, which included all records from the three recording sessions in 1906, 1909, and 1914 (Gramophone 1914). In 1907, a group of Persian musicians traveled to Paris to make some recordings but the musicians' effort and investment was wasted by the mediator who arranged the recording. The mediator only wanted to reproduce a dozen tracks because he

had planned to bring his band to Europe to make recordings for the Gramophone Company. I have not included those few labels from 1907 because the scope of the recording session was unclear. Therefore, the following three recording sessions prior to World War I (WWI) were included in the data analysis:

1. 1906 by the Gramophone Company (hereafter referred to as 1906)
2. 1909 by the Gramophone Company (hereafter referred to as 1909)
3. 1912 by the Gramophone Company (hereafter referred to as 1912)

For the recording sessions by the Gramophone Company and the Columbia Graphophone Company, which were conducted between 1926 and 1933, I have used a recently compiled catalog of Persian records (Kinnear 2000b). The recent catalog might not provide the exact information that appeared on the record labels or in the old catalog entries; however, it provides the modes of the recordings in most cases. Apart from the Gramophone Company and Columbia Graphophone Company, I could only find one Persian catalog by the German recording company Polyphon-Musikwerke (Polyphon 1928). In addition to the first three recordings listed above, the data collection included the following eight recording sessions:

4. 1926 by the Gramophone Company (hereafter referred to as 1926)
5. 1928 by the Gramophone Company (hereafter referred to as 1928G)
6. 1928 by Columbia Graphophone Company (hereafter referred to as 1928C)
7. 1928 by Polyphon Musikwerke (hereafter referred to as 1928P)
8. 1929 by the Gramophone Company (BX/CX series) (hereafter referred to as 1929G1)
9. 1929 by the Gramophone Company (BA/CA series) (hereafter referred to as 1929G2)
10. 1933 by the Gramophone Company (hereafter referred to as 1933G)
11. 1933 by Columbia Graphophone Company (hereafter referred to as 1933C)

The catalog data were extracted using two separate approaches. The first approach considered mode names individually, and the second approach counted a double-sided record as the unit for data analysis. For the first approach, while most of the labels provided one mode, some of the labels had two or even three modes. Thus, using the mode name as the unit, even a single label could add three modes to the absolute frequency of the modes. The absolute frequency of the individual names was extracted without considering whether the modes appeared on a single-sided or double-sided record. It was taken into account that some labels, single-sided or double-sided, included more than one mode name. The first approach to the data analysis was conducted to highlight the mode distribution during each recording session and over the various recording sessions.

Mode names were extracted from the catalogs for data analysis, and a few modes were added if a reliable audio file of the recordings was available, even if the label did not provide a mode name. Some of the record labels only had song titles, however, it was possible to include the mode of some famous songs.[1] Those mode names were included in a separate column as an extension to the number of mode names that appeared on the labels. The mode names in the extension column had the same value as the primary frequency of the modes in terms of the mode distributions recorded by Persian musicians. They might also have the same value in terms of the impact of record distribution on amateur or professional musicians who would listen to the recordings, because it is likely that they could recognize the mode, even if the name was not mentioned on the label. The extension column might not have influenced the public audience in terms of the popularity of the modes because the public audience might not have been able to recognize the modes if the mode name was not mentioned on the label. However, spreading certain songs in certain modes across the society could have influenced the popularity of the modes, even if the audience was unable to recognize the mode name without seeing it on the label. Therefore, the extension column was eventually added to the main column to increase the total number of

[1] On one page of the catalog of the recording session in 1912, for instance, Tasnif "Bādeh" is in Bayat Tork, "Na Qodrat" is in Afshāri, "Eftekhār" is in Segāh, "Del Havas-e" is in Abu-Atā, and "Nakonam Agar" is in Afshāri, and they have been coupled with non-rhythmic vocalizations in their respective modes, although the mode is mentioned for the non-rhythmic vocalizations only (Gramophone 1912, 4).

modes. Nevertheless, these modes formed only five percent of the total and do not therefore affect the data analysis dramatically.

Several recordings appeared in the catalogs twice, such as the Gramophone Company's catalog number 7-12064 from the 1909 recording session, which was a tasnif in Hejāz published as a single-sided record and as one side of a double-sided record in the same catalog (Gramophone 1909, 8, 22). Such recordings were included in data analysis as two tracks because the amateur and professional musicians and the public could find them on two different records. However, those few recordings have little effect on the data analysis. The following items were considered during the data collection:

- When a mode was mentioned on the label, it was counted as one.
- When two modes were mentioned on the same label, each mode was counted as one.
- For the dastgāh set in 1906, each track used the dastgāh name and each track was counted as one for the main mode of dastgāh.
- If a song had no mode on the label but a reliable audio file was available, or it was a well-known recently composed song in a certain mode, it was counted as one.
- If a second mode was recorded but it was not mentioned on the label, it was not counted because reliable audio files were unavailable of most of the records.

The total numbers of modes included in the data analysis are as follows:

Track label data:

Total number of music recordings: 1,653 (100%)

Total number of recordings with mode names: 1,313 (79%)

Recordings without mode name: 340 (21%)

Track mode name data:

Mode name frequency: 1,467 (100%)

Mode names mentioned on the labels: 1,390 (95%)

Mode names recognized by listening or song title: 77 (5%)

Double-sided label data:

Number of double-sided records of music performances: 687 (100%)

Number of double-sided records with a pattern for coupling: 512 (75%)

Double-sided mode name data:

Mode name frequency: 512 (100%)

Mode names mentioned on the labels: 484 (95%)

Mode names recognized by listening or song title: 28 (5%)

Table 32: Single track data of mode frequency from eleven recording sessions

	06	09	12	26	28 G	28 C	28 P	29 G1	29 G2	33 G	33 C	Sum
Segāh, Darāmad Segāh, Segāh Qafqāzi, Segāh (Azeri)	8	11	14	11	6	19	22	22	9	6	6	134
Māhur, Darāmad Māhur	11	10	6	14	10	15	22	15	4	8	8	123
Bayāt Esfahān, Darāmad Bayāt	5	16	6	5	13	19	16	15	10	6	5	116
Bayāt Tork, Bayāt Torki, Bayāt Tork (Māhur)	4	13	13	6	6	16	24	12	4	4	4	106
Afshāri	3	14	16	4	9	16	13	13	3	10	3	104
Dashti	4	12	9	7	5	4	19	14	4	9	6	93
Abu-Atā, Abu-Aytām, Dastār-ol-Arab	2	7	12	3	11	13	7	11	3	6	4	79
Shur, Darāmad Shur, Forud Shur	8	9	5	8	7	5	19	3	5	1	1	71
Chahārgāh, Darāmad (Chahārgāh)	7	5	1	6	4	4	12	7	5	6	10	67
Homāyun, Darāmad Homāyun	9	8	1	6	2	4	12	5	2	7	3	59
Hejāz	2	12	2	1	5	3	3	5	3			36
Shushtari, Shushtar (Azeri)		9	8	3	1	2	4	5	2		1	35
Mokhālef (Segāh, Chahārgāh)	4	3	4	2	3	3	8	2	4		1	34
Bidād, Bari [Bāvi], Darāmad Bidād	4	8	3	2	2		2	3	1	1	1	27
Navā, Darāmad (Navā)	6	6			1		6		1	2	2	24
Delkash	3	1	1	3	2	1	7	1	3	1		23
Shahnāz, Shur Shahnāz	2	7	3		4	3	2	1			1	23
Mansuri	5	1	5	2	2		4	1				20
Masnavi	3	4	1	5	3		2	1	1			20
Rāk, Rāk Abdollāh	3	10	2		2	2	1					20
Shekasteh (Homāyun, Māhur, Bayāt Tork), Shekasteh Kuchak (Navā)	4	2			4	1	4	1	2		1	19
Zābol (Segāh, Chahārgāh)	2	5	1	1	1		2	2	4			18
Erāq, Darāmad-e Erāq, Erāq (Afshāri, Māhur)	4	2	1	1	1		3	1	2		1	16
Gilak, Gilaki, Gilāni	4	7	5									16

Gerāyli	2	4	1		1		1		2			11
Leyli-Majnun, Leyli Majnun (Navā, Homāyun), Leyli-Majnun (Azeri)	5	1					1	1	2			10
Qatār	2	3	4									9
Rāst-Panjgāh	4					2		1			2	9
Rohāb	2	3					1	2			1	9
Hoseyni (Navā, Shur), Hoseyn (Navā)	2				1		4		1			8
Sāqi-Nāmeh, Sāqi-nāmeh (Rāst-Panjgāh)	2	2				2		2				8
Feyli	1				1		1	1	3			7
Ghamangiz	1		4				1		1			7
Hesār (Segāh, Chahārgāh), Darāmad Hesār	3		1						2		1	7
Oshshāq (Bayāt Esfahān, Dashti)				1	1		3	1		1		7
Bayāt Kordi, Kord Bayāt	2	3										5
Qarābāghi, Qarabāgh	3								2			5
Abol-chap, Abol (Homāyun, Māhur)	3				1							4
Bakhtiāri	1						1	1	1			4
Muyeh (Segāh, Chahārgāh)	2								2			4
Bayāt Rāje (Bayāt Esfahān)						1	1		1			3
Bayāt Shiraz	1						2					3
Gabri	2	1										3
Maghlub (Chahārgāh)	2			1								3
Māvarā-on-Nahr	2							1				3
Qarāi	1							1	1			3
Bayāt Qājār								1	1			2
Chakāvak									1	1		2
Chupān (Dashti)	1										1	2
Dogāh	2											2
Ghazāl, Ghazāli (Shur) [Ozzāl]	2											2
Hājiāneh	1	1										2
Nahib (Afshāri)						1			1			2

Nowruz-e Arab	2											2
Panjgāh (Māhur)											2	2
Reng-e Osul		2										2
Ruh-ol-Arvāh, Rāh-e Ruh	2											2
Salmak (Shur)	1								1			2
Shāhanshāhi	2											2
Shekasteh Fārs (Azeri)								1	1			2
Shekasteh Qarabāgh (Azeri)								2				2
Amiri	1											1
Āzarbāyjāni	1											1
Dād (Māhur)					1							1
Darāmad Ashirān (Shur)	1											1
Darāmad Rāst (Rāst-Panjgāh)	1											1
Delāviz	1											1
Golriz (Shur)									1			1
Keykāvusi (Navā)					1							1
Kuche-Esfahān (Ghamangiz)	1											1
Masihi	1											1
Nahoft (Navā)									1			1
Ney-Dāvud							1					1
Neyriz		1										1
Nowruz-e Sabā (Rāst-Panjgāh)	1											1
Pahlavi (Navā)	1											1
Qaracheh (Shur)									1			1
Rahāvandi									1			1
Rāst Dogāh	1											1
Sāranj (Navā)		1										1
Shah-Khatāi (Navā)							1					1
Suz-o-Godāz	1											1
Zang-e Shotori	1											1
Sum	175	204	129	92	111	136	232	155	99	69	65	1467

The following variables remained unclear and were thus excluded from the analysis until further explorations have been made:

- Record circulation: To date, there has been no way to determine circulation of each track and it is impossible to realize which tracks were circulated more than others in a way that influenced amateur and professional musicians and the public. It is also impossible to realize whether a certain track was circulated more widely because it was assumingly more popular and could sell more copies. Therefore, it is not possible to include the effect of wider circulation of the more popular tracks.
- Popularity of certain records in various cities or different classes: It is unclear whether certain tracks were more popular among various classes and whether popular tracks in Tehran were popular in other cities.
- Role of a local recording session conductor or coordinator in the frequencies of recording certain modes.
- Role of lead instrumentalists who accompanied more than one singer during a certain session and the role of composers and song-writers whose works were popular during a recording session.
- Role of popular singers who sang with more than one instrumentalist during a certain recording session or during multiple recording sessions. In addition, some musicians were involved in more than one recording session, and in some years, more than one recording session was conducted.
- Effect of the number of musicians engaged in a certain recording session.
- Impact of the number of tracks recorded during a certain session.
- The sound of all the tracks, which could provide more detailed information on the recorded modes.
- Track duration based on the record size or the portion of the duration, which was dedicated to a certain mode when two or more modes were recorded on the same record.
- Release of records from a certain recording session in one or two parts.
- Impact of the popularity of a certain song in increasing the popularity of the mode in which that song was composed.

With the frequency of recording the modes as the first variable, separate recording sessions form the second variable of data analysis. Eleven recording sessions were conducted by three recording companies between 1906 and 1933, and each session conductor employed their chosen musicians. In total, sixty-five extracted modes were obtained from the recording session by Columbia Graphophone Company in 1933, which increased to two hundred and thirty-two during the recording session by Polyphon Musikwerke in 1928. The same mode, Chahārgāh, appeared on ten labels during the former session, giving a relative frequency of 0.1538, and on twelve labels during the latter session, giving a relative frequency of 0.0517. This means that relative frequency of Chahārgāh was three times larger during the former recording session by Columbia Graphophone Company in 1933. Thus, the most challenging factor was the frequency of the recordings. I concluded that cumulative frequencies provide the most meaningful results because they minimize the effect of such irregularities caused by the number of records allocated to each recording session. The following four charts provide absolute, relative, cumulative, and cumulative relative frequencies of the mode distribution in all recording sessions; they indicate that the cumulative relative frequency provides a more meaningful picture of the mode distribution by eliminating the effect of the total number of records allocated to each recording session. Charts 5 and 6 show similar distributions of modes, which indicates that by summing the frequencies from the various recording sessions, the mode distribution becomes more rational and the random fluctuations disappear. Charts are sorted according to the total frequency of modes in all recording sessions.

Chart 3: Absolute frequency of recorded modes.

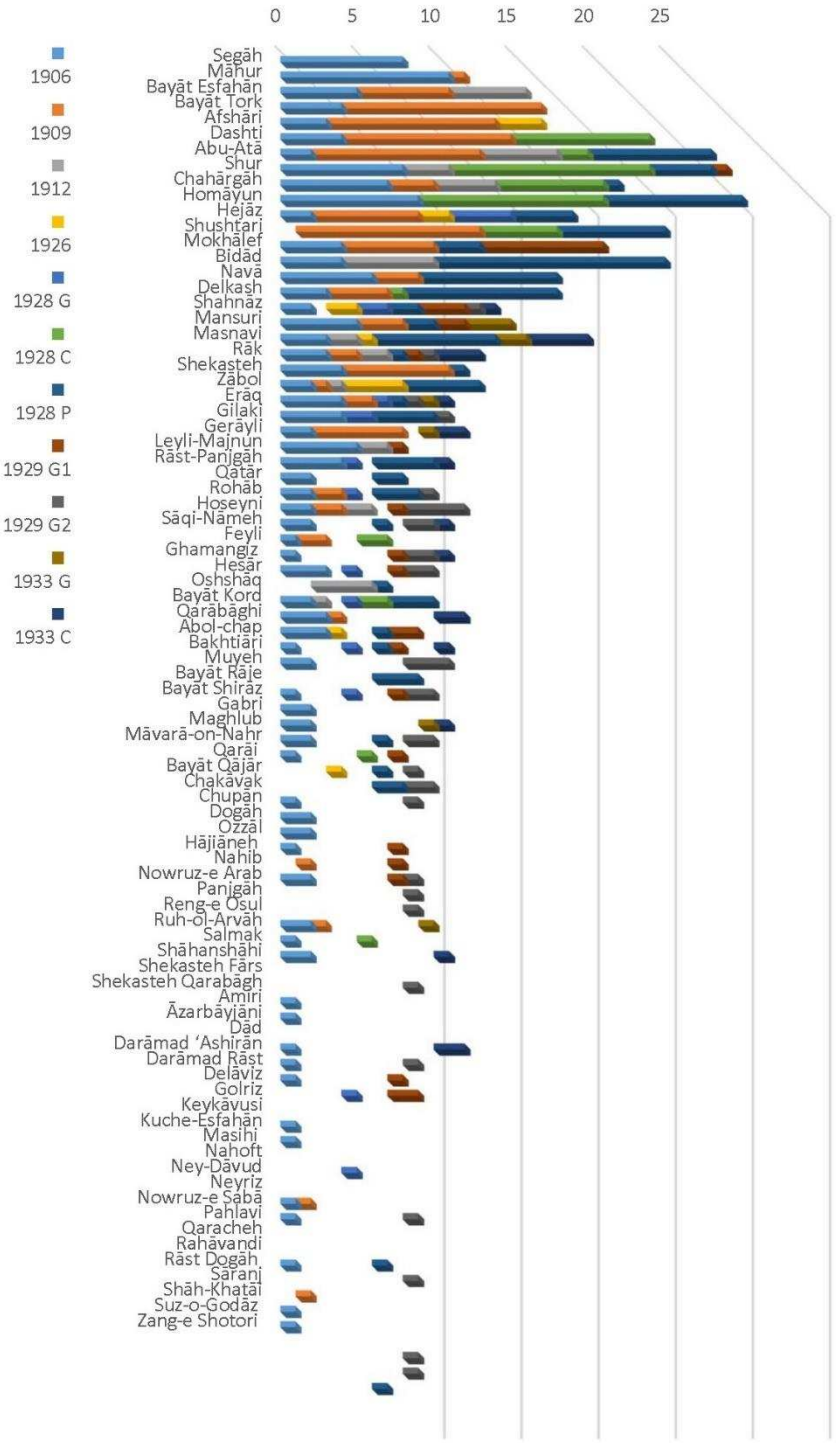


Chart 4: Relative frequency of recorded modes.

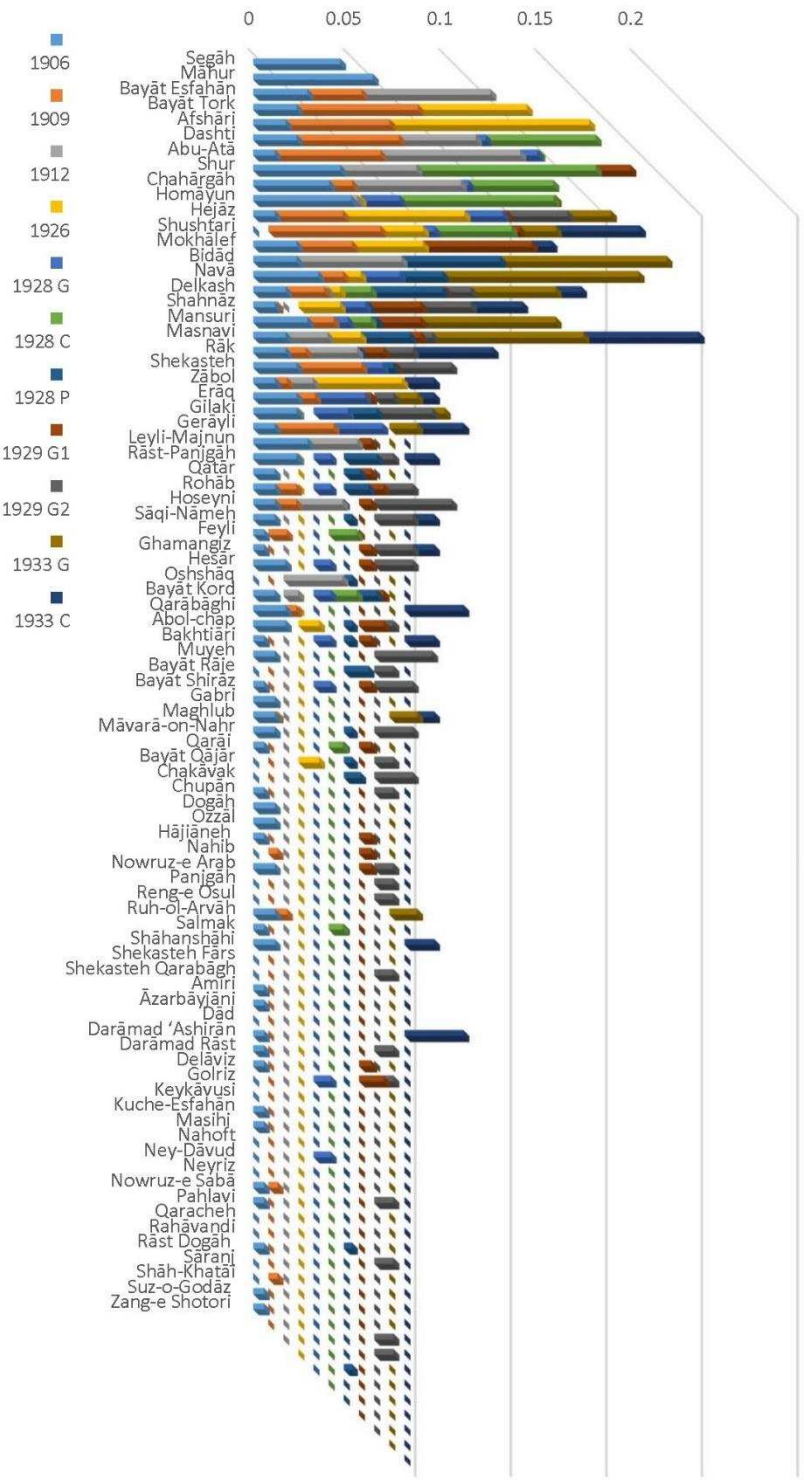


Chart 5: Cumulative frequency of recorded modes.

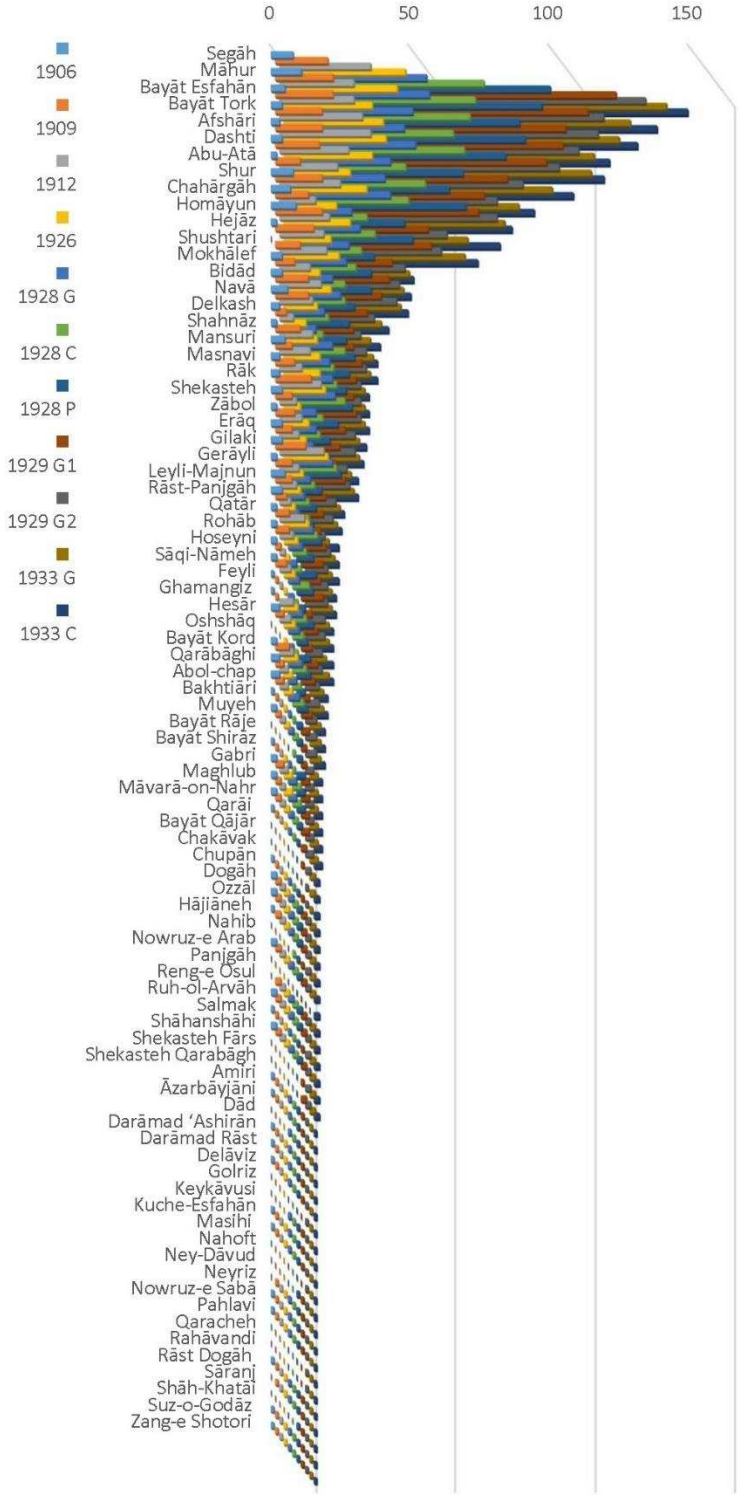
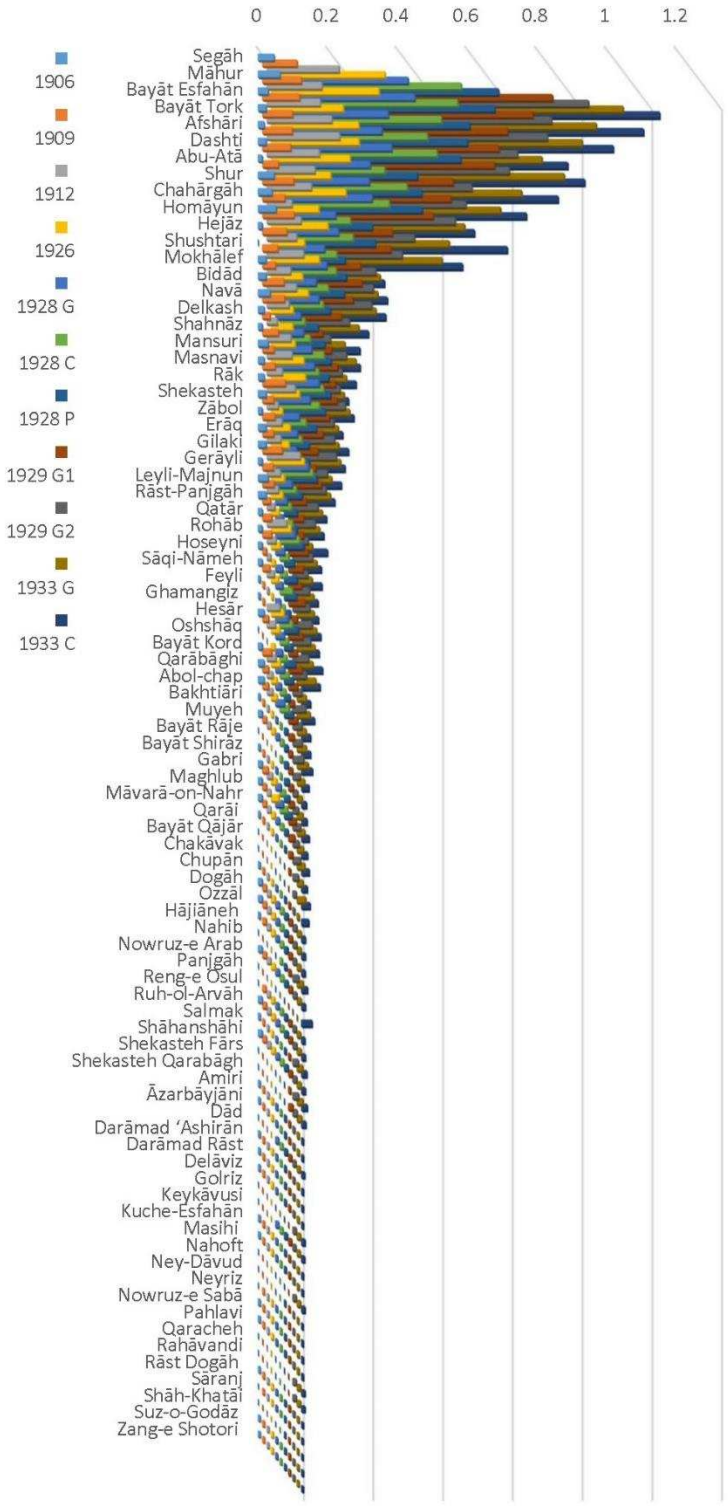


Chart 6: Cumulative relative frequency of recorded modes.



Charts 5 and 6 show that ten modes, Segāh, Māhur, Bayāt Esfahān, Bayāt Tork, Afshāri, Dashti, Abu-Atā, Shur, Chahārgāh, and Homāyun, were the most frequently used modes in the recordings. Segāh, Māhur, Shur, Chahārgāh, and Homāyun were five of the seven dastgāh, and Bayāt Esfahān, Bayāt Tork, Afshāri, Dashti, and Abu-Atā were the five āvāz that retained their status as independent modes. The two dastgāh of Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh were rarely recorded during recording sessions between 1909 and 1933, and they disappeared until the 1950s, when the oil industry provided sources for the Iranian government to retrieve icons of national identity, such as the traditional knowledge of music. Thus, a myth emerged and the retrieval of the two dastgāh of Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh was attributed to Mirzā Abdollah. The myth stated that because Mirza Abdollah's cousin refused to teach him the two dastgāh, Mirza Abdollah learned them by hiding behind the doors and windows when his cousin practiced them (see Chapter 3). Stealthily learning music from a master is a common myth in various cultures.[1] The myth was applied to Mirza Abdollah and the two dastgāh of Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh that were rarely recorded after 1906, although Mirza Abdollah was not involved in recording the two dastgāh in 1906. Indeed, accompanied by Ali-Akbar Khan Shahi on santur, it was Qoli Khan Shahi who recorded dastgāh Navā, while Seyyed-Ahmad Khan recorded Rāst-Panjgāh accompanied by Asadollah Khan on the tar. In addition, āvāz Navā was recorded on a single track by Qorbān Khan accompanied on the kamancheh (Gramophone 1906, 15, 24, 29).

Another determinant is the substantial difference between the recording sessions. The 1906 recording session was the first commercial recording session of Persian music. The dozens of musicians involved in that recording session made it more of a field recording in which the musicians could transmit their musical knowledge directly and thus create a landmark event in the history of Persian music. Therefore, that earliest recording session should not be considered in the

[1] In noticing similar myths in other cultures, I am indebted to Daniel Neuman. He has mentioned two examples of similar myths in Indian tradition (Neuman 1990, 148–49). The first legend claims that the celebrated Amir Khusrau (1253–1325) learned Gopal Nayak's music by listening behind or under a throne, and the second legend states that Haddu Khan and Hassu Khan, two brothers who were among the founders of the Gwalior Gharana, became masters by hiding behind a curtain to hear Bade Muhammad Khan practice. A similar French legend relates that the celebrated viol player, Marin Marais (1656–1728), hid under a summer cabinet where his teacher, Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe (ca. 1640–1700), practiced (Titon Du Tillet 1732, 625).

same vein as the recording sessions in 1933, which were conducted according to a predesigned plan.

The 1909 recording session was conducted by the local agent of the Gramophone Company, who brought a group of eight musicians to London. He had a marketing strategy to record Persian music on European instruments such as the piano, flute, clarinet, and violin. He arranged another recording session in Tehran in 1912 with a new marketing strategy to record female singers for the first time. Those two sessions could be considered together because they were arranged by the same agent and they were the first sessions with marketing strategies. More than half of the tracks in 1909 were released as double-sided records, and most of the double-sided records had a non-rhythmic vocalization in the same mode of a rhythmic song (tasnif) on both sides of the double-sided records. In 1912, all tracks were supposed to be released as double-sided records, and most of the couplings followed the same pattern of having a non-rhythmic performance coupled with a rhythmic piece in the same mode, which revealed a predesigned plan for recording tracks.

Between 1926 and 1933, eight recording sessions were conducted by three recording companies. They were planned for release as double-sided records and followed a pattern of having the same musical form in the same mode on both sides of the record, i.e., both sides of the records had either non-rhythmic performances in related modes or rhythmic performances in the same mode. It was also common to sing a song in two parts or sing the same song twice with alternative lyrics. During those recording sessions, most of the rhythmic vocal performances were recently composed songs. There is no reason to consider recording sessions that were conducted during the interwar period as substantially different. Thus, considering that the cumulative frequency minimized the random fluctuations in frequencies, I concluded that it was possible to classify the recording sessions into three stages:

I. 1906: The first recordings.

II. 1909 and 1912: The first marketing strategies and similar patterns for double-sided records.

III. 1926–1933: New patterns for double-sided records, engaging a new generation of musicians, and using recently composed songs.

Table 33: Cumulative relative frequency of the three recording periods

Mode \ Period	1906	1909-12	1926-33	Sum
Segāh, Darāmad Segāh, Segāh Qafqāzi, Segāh (Azeri)	0.045714286	0.08122435	0.102532691	0.229471327
Māhur, Darāmad Māhur	0.062857143	0.047765618	0.102947862	0.213570622
Afshāri	0.017142857	0.096329229	0.075437033	0.18890912
Bayāt Esfahān, Darāmad Bayāt	0.028571429	0.0624715	0.09272503	0.183767958
Bayāt Tork, Bayāt Torki, Bayāt Tork (Māhur)	0.022857143	0.082250342	0.072212456	0.177319941
Dashti	0.022857143	0.064295486	0.073238677	0.160391305
Abu-Atā, Abu-Aytām, Dastār-ol-Arab	0.011428571	0.063668491	0.063404275	0.138501337
Shur, Darāmad Shur, Forud Shur	0.045714286	0.041438668	0.046052263	0.133205217
Chahārgāh, Darāmad (Chahārgāh)	0.04	0.016130871	0.064857293	0.120988164
Homāyun, Darāmad Homāyun	0.051428571	0.023483812	0.045554315	0.120466698
Shushtari, Shushtar (Azeri)	0	0.053066575	0.017676208	0.070742784
Hejāz	0.011428571	0.037163703	0.019183195	0.06777547
Bidād, Bari [Bāvi], Darāmad Bidād	0.022857143	0.03123575	0.013463882	0.067556775
Mokhālef (Segāh, Chahārgāh)	0.022857143	0.022856817	0.021749953	0.067463913
Navā, Darāmad (Navā)	0.034285714	0.014705882	0.013090853	0.06208245
Gilak, Gilaki, Gilāni	0.022857143	0.036536708	0	0.059393851
Mansuri	0.028571429	0.021830825	0.007931268	0.058333522
Rāk, Rāk Abdollāh	0.017142857	0.032261742	0.004629281	0.05403388
Shahnāz, Shur Shahnāz	0.011428571	0.02878477	0.011068972	0.051282313
Masnavi	0.017142857	0.013679891	0.013318521	0.044141268
Erāq, Darāmad-e Erāq, Erāq (Afshāri, Māhur)	0.022857143	0.00877793	0.009355982	0.040991055
Delkash	0.017142857	0.006326949	0.017424933	0.04089474
Shekasteh (Homāyun, Māhur, Bayāt Tork), Shekasteh Kuchak (Navā)	0.022857143	0.004901961	0.012833576	0.040592679
Zābol (Segāh, Chahārgāh)	0.011428571	0.016130871	0.010225816	0.037785259
Leyli-Majnun, Leyli Majnun (Navā, Homāyun), Leyli-Majnun (Azeri)	0.028571429	0.00245098	0.003870497	0.034892906
Qatār	0.011428571	0.022856817	0	0.034285389
Rāst-Panjgāh	0.022857143	0	0.006490841	0.029347984
Gerāyli	0.011428571	0.013679891	0.004190172	0.029298634

Hesār (Segāh, Chahārgāh), Darāmad Hesār	0.017142857	0.003875969	0.004448329	0.025467156
Ghamangiz	0.005714286	0.015503876	0.001801419	0.023019581
Rohāb	0.011428571	0.007352941	0.004074773	0.022856286
Sāqi-Nāmeh, Sāqi-nāmeh (Rāst-Panjgāh)	0.011428571	0.004901961	0.003451139	0.019781671
Qarābāghi, Qarabāgh	0.017142857	0	0.002525253	0.01966811
Bayāt Kordi, Kord Bayāt	0.011428571	0.007352941	0	0.018781513
Abol-chap, Abol (Homāyun, Māhur)	0.017142857	0	0.001126126	0.018268983
Hoseyni (Navā, Shur), Hoseyn (Navā)	0.011428571	0	0.004543925	0.015972496
Muyeh (Segāh, Chahārgāh)	0.011428571	0	0.002525253	0.013953824
Gabri	0.011428571	0.00245098	0	0.013879552
Maghlub (Chahārgāh)	0.011428571	0	0.001358696	0.012787267
Māvarā-on-Nahr	0.011428571	0	0.000806452	0.012235023
Feyli	0.005714286	0	0.00625925	0.011973535
Dogāh	0.011428571	0	0	0.011428571
Ghazāl, Ghazāli (Shur) [Ozzāl]	0.011428571	0	0	0.011428571
Nowruz-e Arab	0.011428571	0	0	0.011428571
Ruh-ol-Arvāh, Rāh-e Ruh	0.011428571	0	0	0.011428571
Shāhanshāhi	0.011428571	0	0	0.011428571
Bakhtiāri	0.005714286	0	0.002607871	0.008322157
Hājiāni	0.005714286	0.00245098	0	0.008165266
Qarāi	0.005714286	0	0.002069078	0.007783364
Chupān (Dashti)	0.005714286	0	0.001923077	0.007637363
Salmak (Shur)	0.005714286	0	0.001262626	0.006976912
Bayāt Shiraz	0.005714286	0	0.001077586	0.006791872
Oshshāq (Bayāt Esfahān, Dashti)	0	0	0.006719247	0.006719247
Amiri	0.005714286	0	0	0.005714286
Āzarbāyjāni	0.005714286	0	0	0.005714286
Darāmad Ashirān (Shur)	0.005714286	0	0	0.005714286
Darāmad Rāst (Rāst-Panjgāh)	0.005714286	0	0	0.005714286
Delāviz	0.005714286	0	0	0.005714286
Kuche-Esfahān (Ghamangiz)	0.005714286	0	0	0.005714286
Masihi	0.005714286	0	0	0.005714286
Nowruz-e Sabā (Rāst-Panjgāh)	0.005714286	0	0	0.005714286
Pahlavi (Navā)	0.005714286	0	0	0.005714286

Rāst Dogāh	0.005714286	0	0	0.005714286
Suz-o-Godāz	0.005714286	0	0	0.005714286
Zang-e Shotori	0.005714286	0	0	0.005714286
Reng-e Osul	0	0.004901961	0	0.004901961
Panjgāh (Māhur)	0	0	0.003846154	0.003846154
Chakāvak	0	0	0.00307422	0.00307422
Bayāt Rāje (Bayāt Esfahān)	0	0	0.002720537	0.002720537
Neyriz	0	0.00245098	0	0.00245098
Sāranj (Navā)	0	0.00245098	0	0.00245098
Nahib (Afshāri)	0	0	0.002181744	0.002181744
Bayāt Qājār	0	0	0.002069078	0.002069078
Shekasteh Fārs (Azeri)	0	0	0.002069078	0.002069078
Shekasteh Qarabāgh (Azeri)	0	0	0.001612903	0.001612903
Golriz (Shur)	0	0	0.001262626	0.001262626
Nahoft (Navā)	0	0	0.001262626	0.001262626
Qaracheh (Shur)	0	0	0.001262626	0.001262626
Rahāvandi	0	0	0.001262626	0.001262626
Dād (Māhur)	0	0	0.001126126	0.001126126
Keykāvusi (Navā)	0	0	0.001126126	0.001126126
Ney-Dāvud	0	0	0.000538793	0.000538793
Shah-Khatāi (Navā)	0	0	0.000538793	0.000538793

Since little data is available on the extracted information on Persian modes, further data analysis does not generate meaningful results; hence, the statistical analysis is limited to visualizing the data as meaningful graphs. Table 34 shows the results of some basic statistical processes of the relative frequency of the modes during the three periods of recording Persian music.

Table 34: Statistical data analysis of the relative frequency of modes

	1906	1909-12	1926-33
Population size	63	37	58
Mean (μ)	0.015873015857143	0.027027026972973	0.017241379327586
Median	0.011428571	0.016130871	0.0041324725
Mode	0.005714286	0.00245098	0.001262626
Lowest value	0.005714286	0.00245098	0.000538793
Highest value	0.062857143	0.096329229	0.102947862
Range	0.057142857	0.093878249	0.102409069
Interquartile range	0.017142857	0.0336867305	0.01269985475
First quartile	0.005714286	0.005614455	0.00175429
Third quartile	0.022857143	0.0393011855	0.01445414475
Variance (σ2)	0.00015076845567145	0.00064453008630653	0.00075918552418614
Standard deviation (σ)	0.012278780707849	0.025387597095955	0.027553321472849
Quartile deviation	0.0085714285	0.01684336525	0.006349927375
Mean absolute deviation (MAD)	0.0091307634739229	0.020546732669102	0.019779892186683

Charts 7–9 show absolute frequency of modes during the three periods of recording Persian music.

Chart 7: Absolue frequency of modes in 1906.

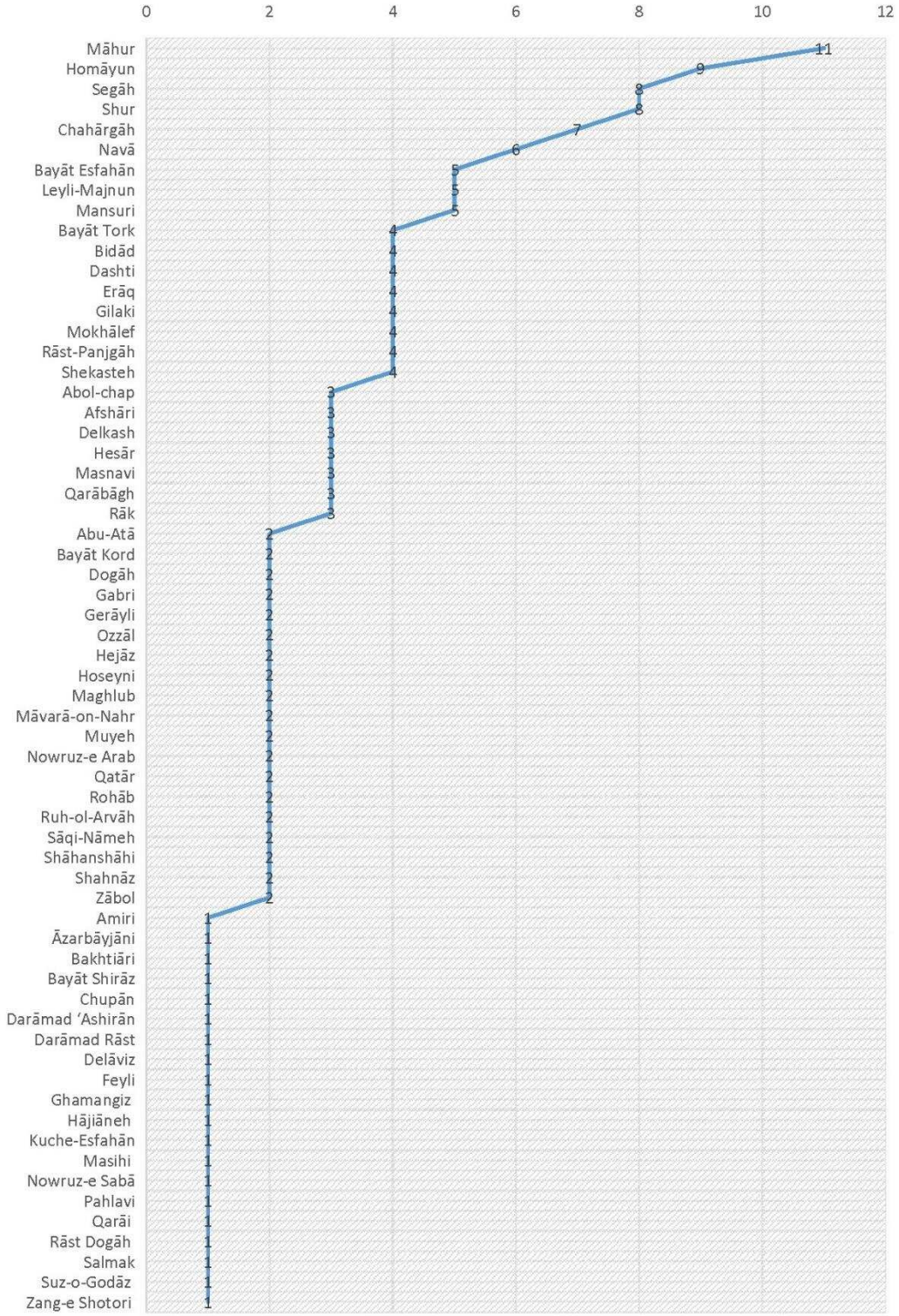


Chart 8: Absolute frequency of modes in 1909-12.

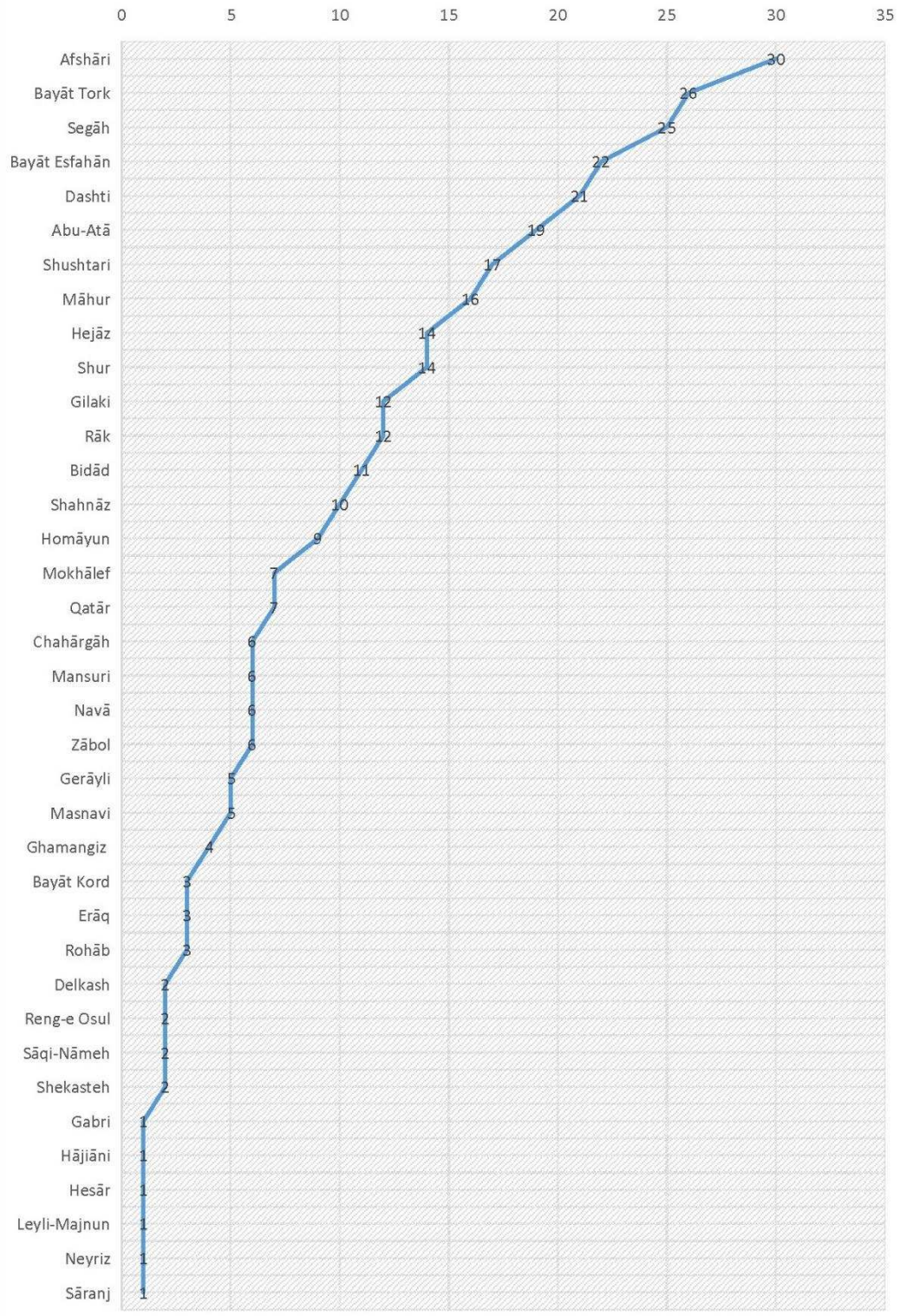


Chart 9: Absolute frequency of modes in 1926-33.

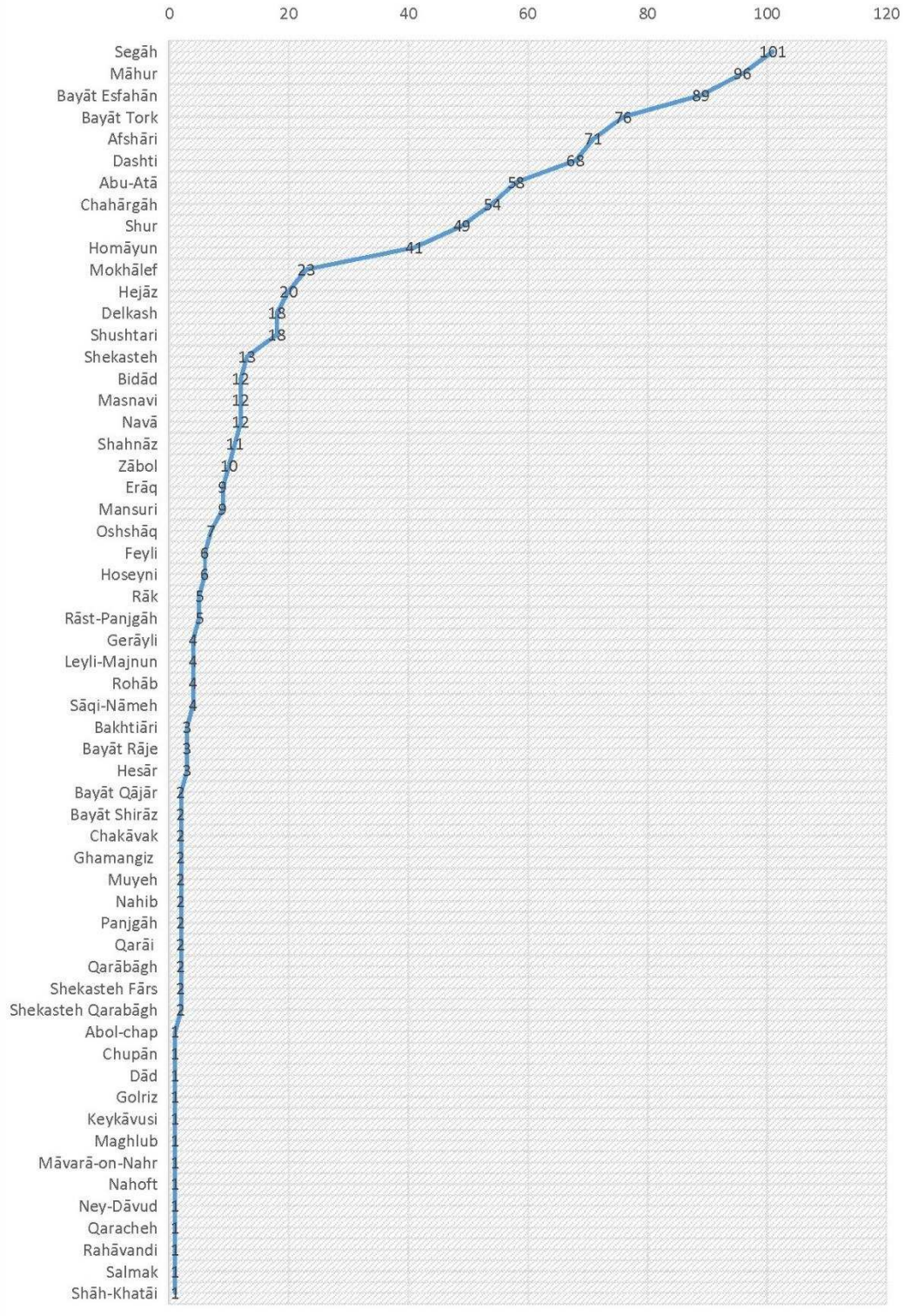


Chart 7 shows that Māhur appeared on eleven labels; Homāyun on nine labels; Segāh and Shur on eight labels; Chahārgāh on seven labels; Navā on six labels; Bayāt Esfahān, Leyli-Majnun, and Mansuri on five labels; and Bayāt Tork, Bidād, Dashti, Erāq, Gilaki, Mokhālef, Rāst-Panjgāh, and Shekasteh on four labels. Thus, the seven āvāz of Māhur, Homāyun, Segāh, Shur, Chahārgāh, Navā, and Rāst-Panjgāh, which are the central āvāz of the seven dastgāh, were among the seven most frequently recorded modes. In addition, ten āvāz of Bayāt Esfahān, Leyli-Majnun, Mansuri, Bayāt Tork, Bidād, Dashti, Erāq, Gilaki, Mokhālef, and Shekasteh were among the seven most frequently recorded modes.

As Chart 8 shows, Afshāri, Bayāt Tork, Segāh, Bayāt Esfahān, Dashti, Abu-Atā, and Shushtari were the most popular seven modes during the recording sessions in 1909 and 1912. Among these modes, Afshāri, Bayāt Tork, Bayāt Esfahān, Dashti, and Abu-Atā were the five āvāz that were eventually added to the seven dastgāh. Shushtari became part of dastgāh Homāyun, and only Segāh was the central āvāz of a dastgāh. During the recording sessions between 1926 and 1933, as shown in Chart 9, Segāh, Bayāt Esfahān, Bayāt Tork, Afshāri, Dashti, and Abu-Atā were established as six of the top seven modes, and Māhur, one of the seven dastgāh, replaced Shushtari.

In conclusion, the recordings of Persian music determined the formation of the system of the seven dastgāh and five āvāz, a system that became the system of the twelve dastgāh in ethnomusicology literature. Moreover, allocating few records to Navā and Rast-Panjgāh downgraded those two dastgāh. Thus, the top ten modes during the interwar period included five of the seven dastgāh and the five āvāz that were later added to the seven dastgāh.

The total number of recordings allocated to each mode also influenced mode hierarchy. Charts 10–13 show the relative frequency of modes during the three periods of recording Persian music.

Chart 10: Relative frequency of modes in 1906.

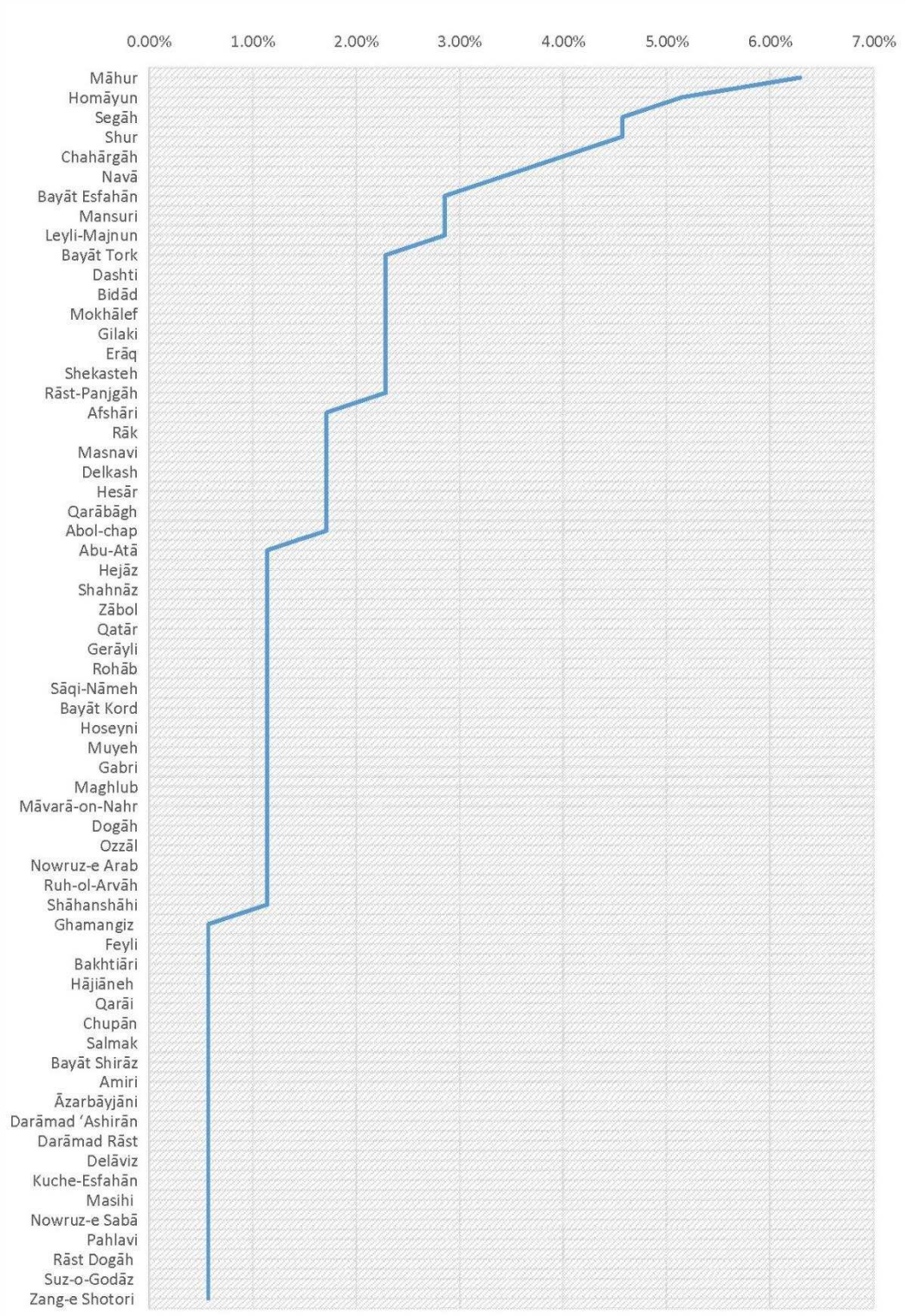


Chart 11: Relative frequency of modes in 1909-12.

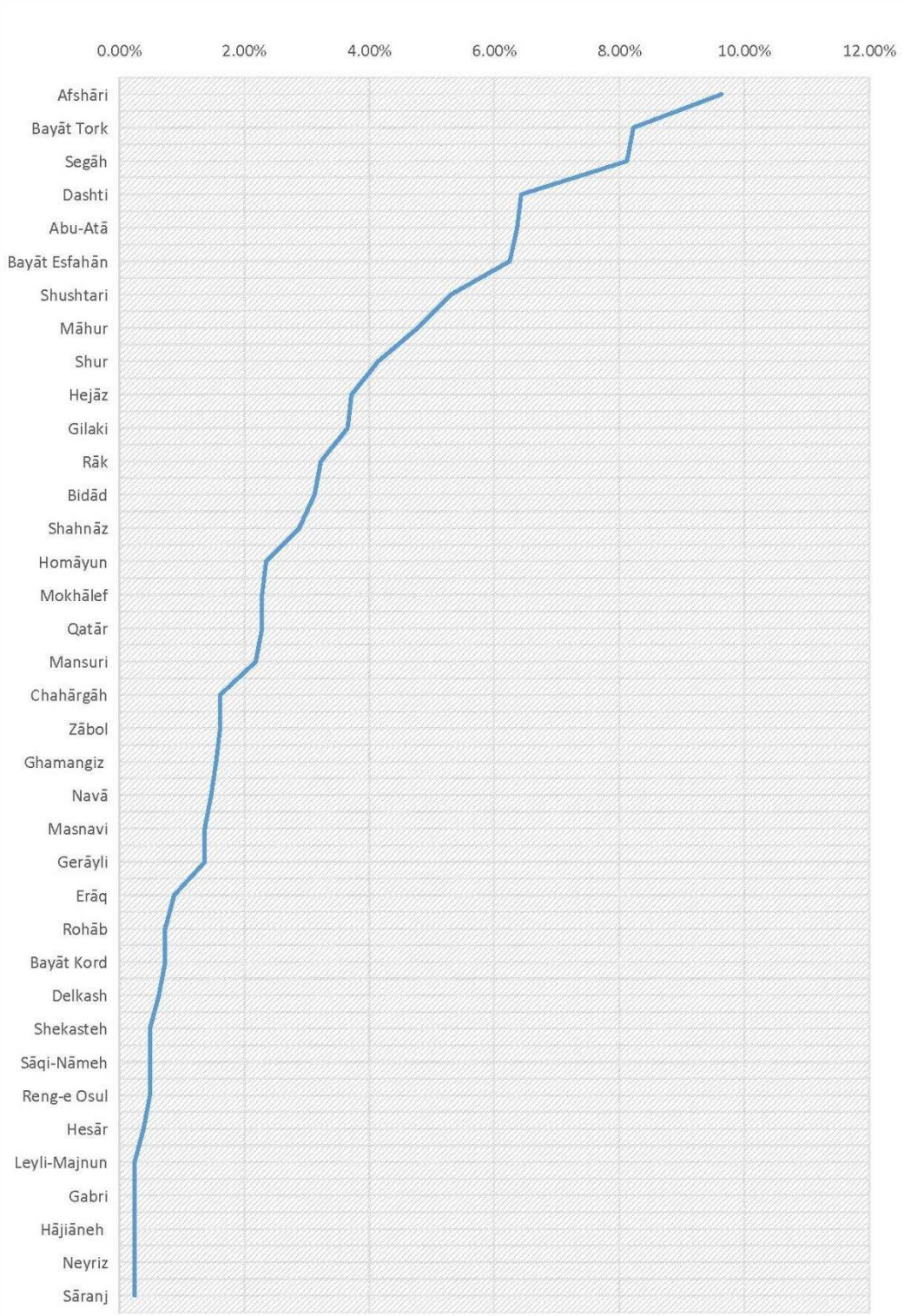


Chart 12: Relative frequency of modes in 1926-33.

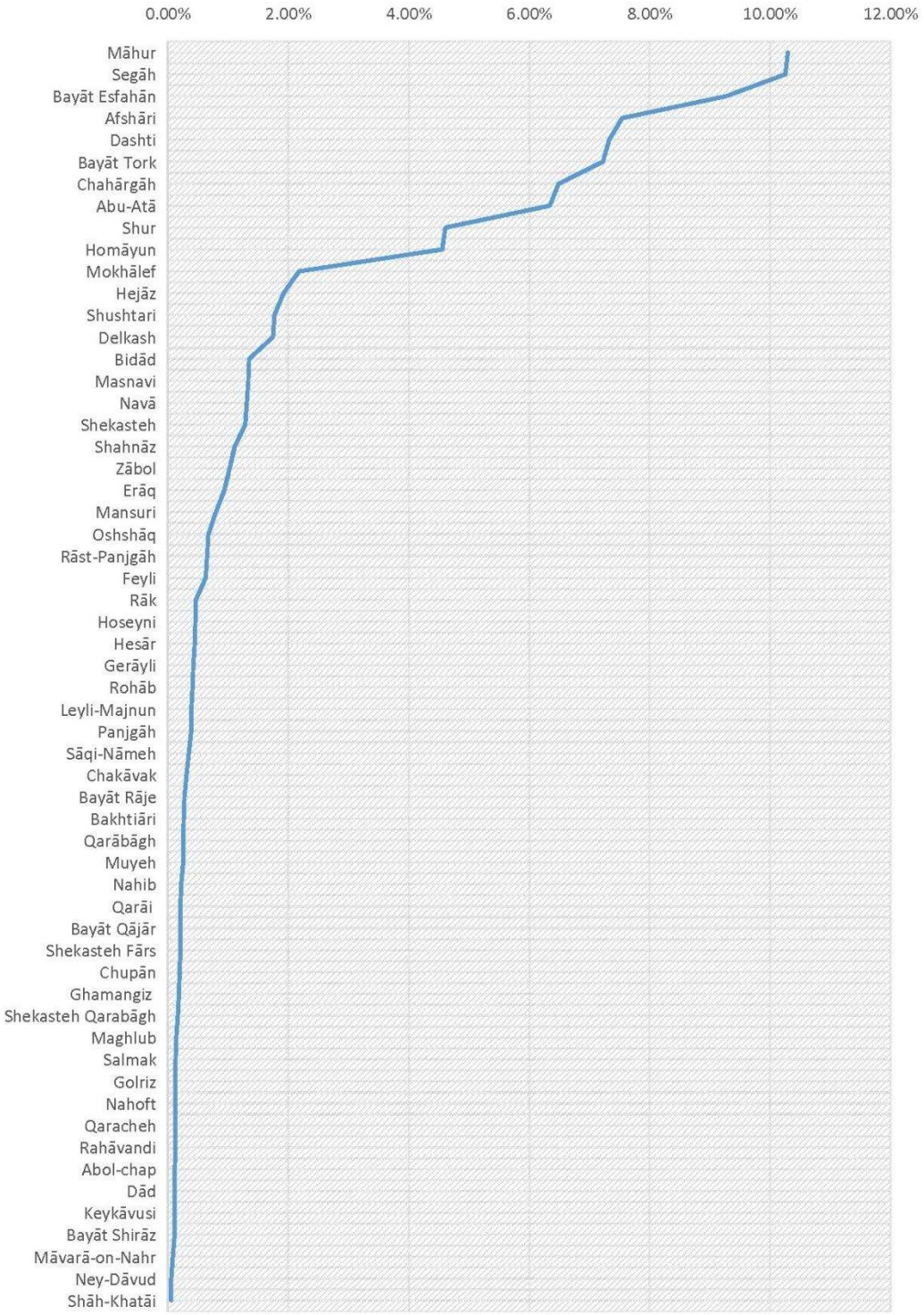
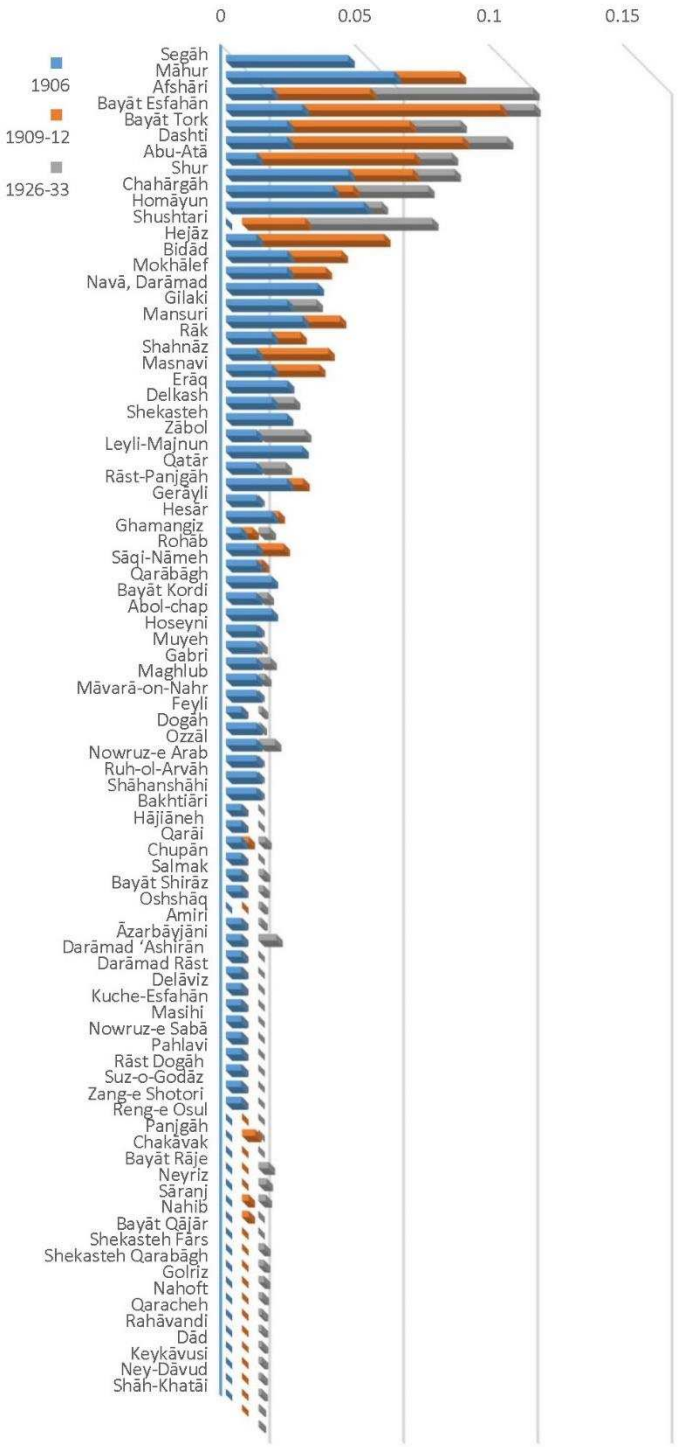


Chart 13: Relative frequency of modes in 1906, 1909-12, and 1926-33.



A closer examination of the statistical data analysis of the three periods reveals important facts that are also visible in the three charts. The dispersion of the modes dramatically changed from the first to the last period; i.e., more tracks were allocated to certain modes during the second and third periods. Therefore, the cumulative frequencies of the most popular modes increased dramatically, which means that the most popular modes were recorded more often during the later sessions, and the most popular records were spread across the society more than the other modes. Consequently, a certain selected of modes became increasingly popular.

In 1906, the modes had a relatively uniform distribution. All modes and sixty-three mode names formed only ten ranks; the first mode appeared on eleven labels and the last group appeared on only one label. Thus, the top five modes appeared on 24.57% of labels. During the following recording sessions, because more records were allocated to more popular modes, the popular modes became increasingly popular and the neglected modes rapidly lost their independent status. Table 35 shows relative frequency of the top five, ten, and fifteen modes.

Table 35: Top 5, 10, and 15 recorded modes during the three periods

	1906	1909-12	1926-33
Top 5	24.57%	38.78%	44.69%
Top 10	100%	62.97%	73.90%
Top 15	-	78.20%	82.85%

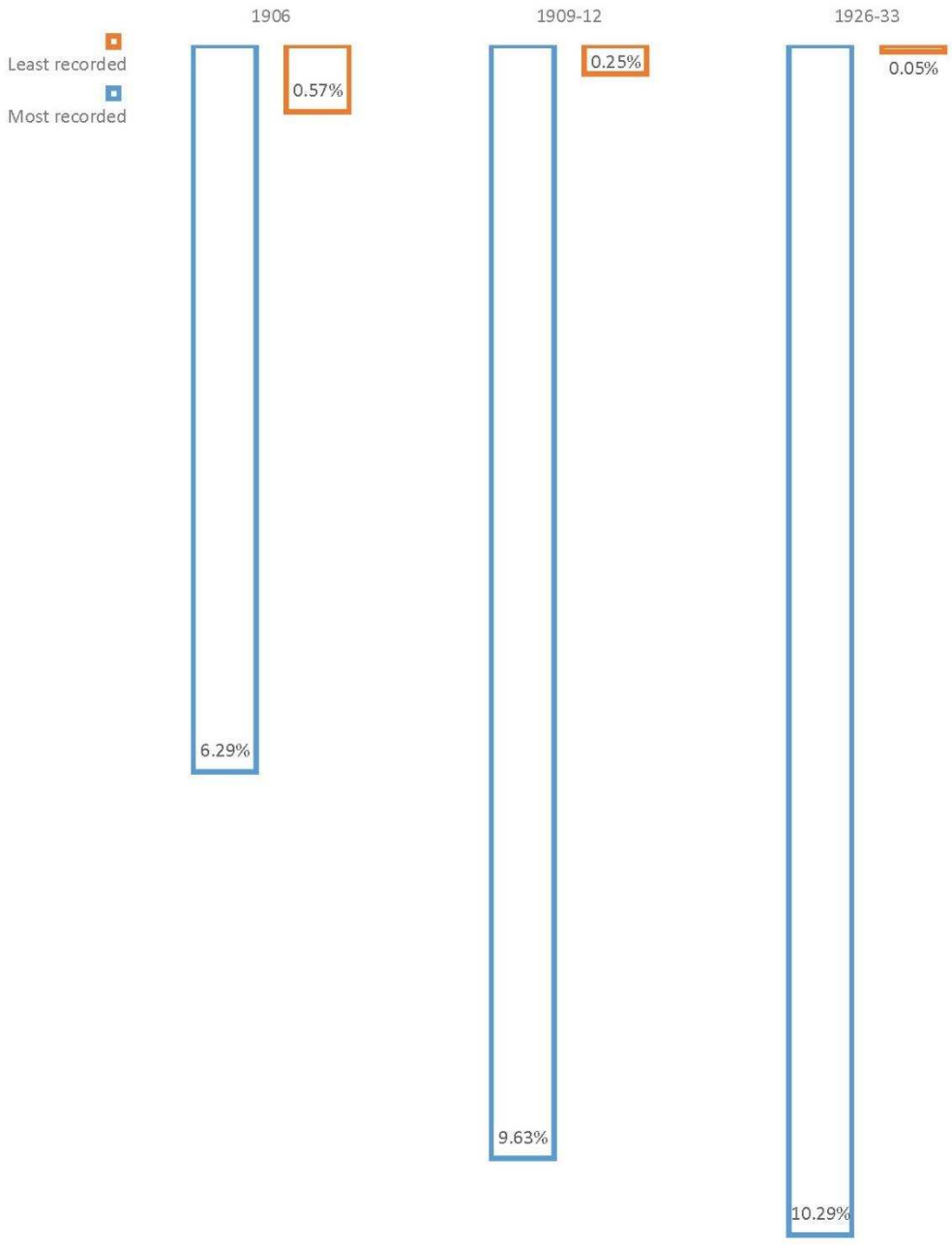
As table 35 shows, the difference between the frequencies of the most popular modes and the least popular modes increased dramatically. As shown in Chart 7-9, 6.29 percent of the recordings in 1906 were dedicated to the most popular mode while the least popular modes appeared on 0.57 percent of the labels. This increased to 9.63 percent for the most popular mode and decreased to 0.25 percent for the least popular one in the second period. In the third period, the amount of recordings dedicated to the most popular mode increased to 10.29 percent and decreased to 0.05 percent for the least popular mode; thus, the portion dedicated to the least popular modes decreased dramatically from 0.57 percent in 1906 to 0.054 percent in 1926–33.

Although the available information does not indicate how the modes were chosen for the recordings, the following could have determined the selection of the modes:

- The group of musicians who recorded the track.
- A more influential musician who was involved in the recording session.
- The conductor of the recording session.
- The lead singer of a series of recordings.
- The lead instrumentalist of a series of recordings.
- A contemporary composer whose songs were recorded during a session.
- The popularity of certain songs in certain modes.

Chart 14 shows that a significant increase occurred in the number of the records allocated to the most popular modes from the first to the third period, while the number of records allocated to the least popular modes decreased significantly.

Chart 14: Relative frequency of the most and least popular modes in the three periods.



Chapter 12: Data Analysis of the Double-Sided Records

Although all tracks of the 1906 recording session were released on single-sided records, they were reissued on double-sided records in 1908 (Gramophone 1908). However, except for the set of seven dastgāh which were coupled in pairs, it is difficult to distinguish a pattern in coupling single track recordings as double-sided records. Although a few tracks recorded in 1906 were followed by related modes performed by the same musicians, they were not necessarily coupled together on the same double-sided record. For instance, catalogue numbers 4-12032 and 4-12033 recorded by the singer Qorbān Khan and the celebrated tār player, Mirzā Abdollāh, in Darāmad/Abolchap and Shekasteh, which were common āvāz in dastgāh Māhur, were coupled with two recordings in Rāh-e Ruh and Mansuri by the singer Ghaffār and the kamāncheh player, Bāqer Khan (Gramophone 1908, 11). Likewise, catalogue numbers 19379 and 19380 were solo performances on the tār by Hoseyn-Qoli in Darāmad of Māhur and Delkash/Erāq, and they were coupled with two solo performances on the santur by Hasan Khan (Gramophone 1908, 4), even though the pair of solo tar performances and the pair of solo santur performances could have formed two double-sided records. This random pairing could not be interpreted as a marketing strategy of pairing a popular track with another track that was not expected to sell well because a coupling pattern for the recordings in 1909 and 1912 showed that the real marketing strategy was to pair a non-rhythmic performance with a rhythmic performance in the same mode. While thirty tracks of the thirty-six recordings of the seven dastgāh set from 1906 were reissued on double-sided records, it seems that they were coupled because they were from a set of dastgāh recordings. Overall, no meaningful pattern existed for coupling recordings made in 1906 on double-sided records.

The Gramophone Company developed a pattern for coupling Persian recordings to release tracks from the 1909 recording session, although it is unclear whether that pattern was enforced during the process of recording the tracks. The pattern for coupling recordings could be extracted from the catalog once they were released as double-sided records. Recordings that were coupled were mainly different musical forms performed in the same modes. Among the forty-two records

that showed a pattern in coupling tracks, forty records (ninety-five percent) had a non-rhythmic performance on one side and a rhythmic performance on the other side, both in the same mode. The remaining two records (five percent) coupled two pairs of non-rhythmic performances in related modes (Gramophone 1909).

Coupling a non-rhythmic performance with a rhythmic performance in the same mode was a rather more natural way of extending the duration of performances than a marketing strategy. As a typical performance of Persian music was a sequence of rhythmic and non-rhythmic pieces, using two sides of a double-sided record lengthened the recording by playing an āvāz followed by a tasnif in the same āvāz. Thus, coupling tracks followed the same pattern in 1912.

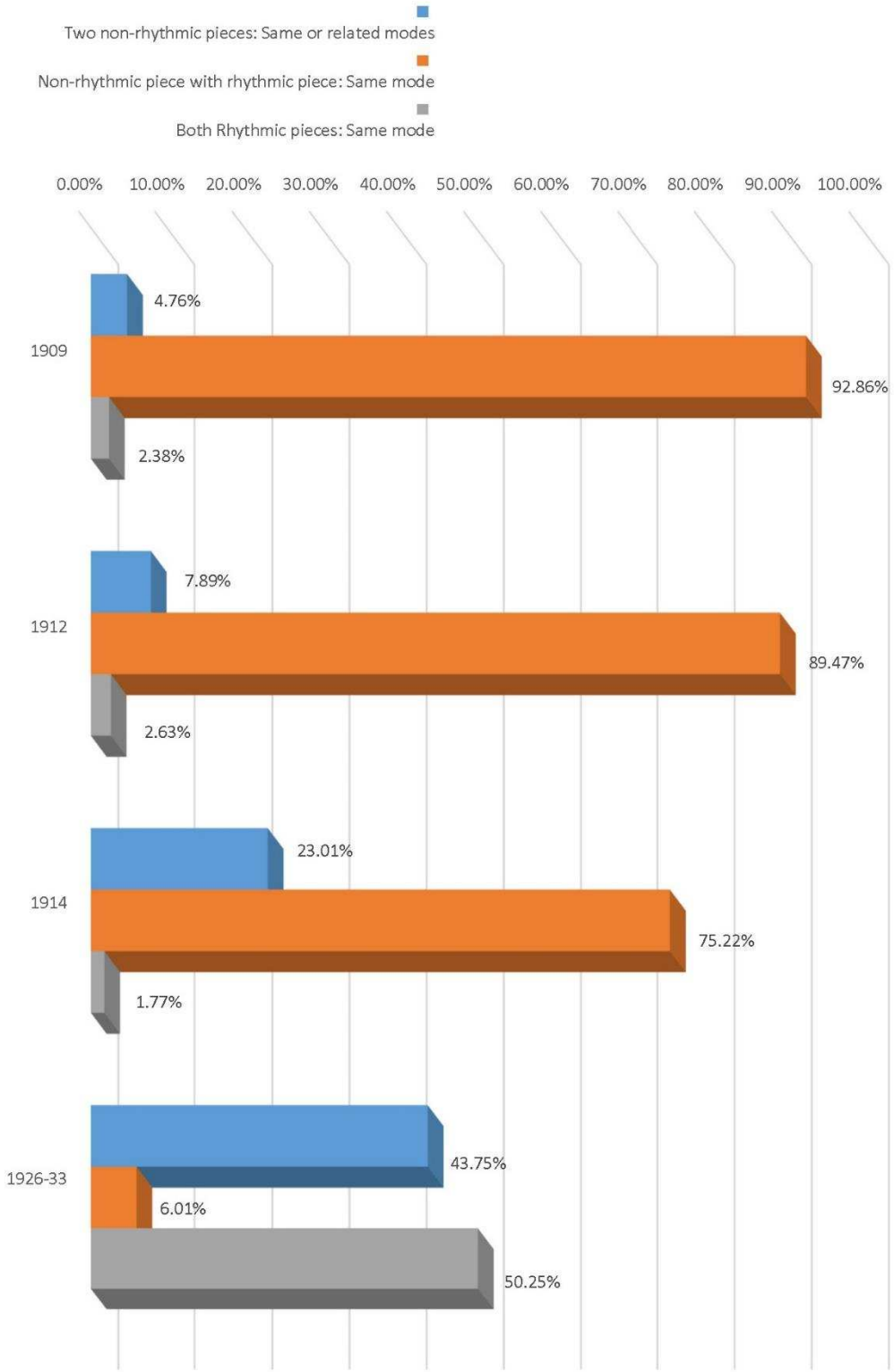
For the 1912 recording session conducted in Tehran, almost all of the tracks were primarily recorded in a pattern to be released on double-sided records. As the record catalogs show, most of the records followed the same pattern that was developed during the release of the recordings in 1909. Among the thirty-seven double-sided records that could be interpreted as following a pattern, thirty-three (eighty-nine percent) followed the same pattern of a non-rhythmic with rhythmic pieces, three records (eight percent) followed the pattern of two non-rhythmic performances in related modes, and one record (three percent) had two rhythmic performances in the same mode (Gramophone 1912, 1913). Although there was only one sample of the latter, it is considered a pattern because this pattern was developed in later recording sessions.

In 1914, the recordings from the 1906, 1909, and 1912 recording sessions were reissued on double-sided records (Gramophone 1914). Almost all of the previously released double-sided records were issued with the same tracks, and several non-rhythmic tracks in related modes were coupled on two sides of a record. Those records included six double-sided records of the tracks recorded in 1909 and the same fifteen double-sided records of the dastgāh set recorded in 1906, which were first reissued as double-sided records in 1908. Consequently, a larger portion of the double-sided records presented non-rhythmic performances on both sides, even though the pattern of a non-rhythmic performance with a rhythmic performance remained the dominant pattern for coupling tracks.

In 1926, when the Gramophone Company resumed recording music in Persia, modernization and commodification of music had changed many aspects of Persian music, and the

norm for coupling recordings on the two sides of the records was altered to coupling two recordings of a non-rhythmic vocal form in the same or related modes or coupling two recordings of a rhythmic performance in the same mode. The latter presented the same song with alternative lyrics or featured two parts of a vocal or instrumental piece. It became clear that recording more rhythmic pieces in certain modes and recording non-rhythmic pieces in the same or related modes on both sides of a double-sided record had a direct impact on the mode's popularity. Prior to 1914, however, a non-rhythmic performance was coupled with a rhythmic performance in the same mode, then the pattern of coupling tracks was altered to pairing two rhythmic performances in the same mode or two non-rhythmic performances in the same or related modes (Chart 15).

Chart 15: Patterns for double-sided Persian records in 1909, 1912, 1914, and 1926-33.



Recording non-rhythmic pieces on both sides of a double-sided record had additional consequences. Some examples could help to better understand how recording non-rhythmic pieces affected not only the hierarchy of mode popularity but also the mode classification or the modal system. In 1906, when a dastgāh set was recorded for the first time, each dastgāh was recorded on a set of records ranging from four to seven tracks. The set of dastgāh Chahārgāh had seven tracks, yet a single track was also recorded by the same vocalist-instrumentalist duo in Mansuri, which was commonly performed as an important part of the dastgāh. Two of those eight tracks were rhythmic songs and the remaining six tracks presented seven modes: Darāmad of Chahārgāh, Zābol, Muyeh, Hesār, Mokhālef, Maqlub, and Mansuri (Gramophone 1906, 23, 30).

During the subsequent recording sessions, it was rare that a set of two or three double-sided records was dedicated to a longer version of a set of modes within a dastgāh. In 1909, for example, a few dastgāh were recorded on four to six discs, but they were not released as dastgāh sets (Kinnear 2000b, 65, 67), and it was not until 1929 that five of the seven dastgāh were recorded on multiple tracks. One dastgāh was released as a set of three double-sided records and the remaining dastgāh were on two double-sided records (Kinnear 2000b, 122–23, 129–31). Apart from those few exceptions, all of the records were originally recorded as pairs of tracks to be coupled as a double-sided record, which means that all the related modes within a dastgāh were squeezed into two tracks lasting no longer than six minutes.

Non-rhythmic performances usually start with a rhythmic instrumental piece, Chahār-mezrāb or Pish-Darāmad, and finish with a Reng. Therefore, the actual duration of each track of around two minutes had to be shared between the vocalist and instrumentalist. For instance, the Gramophone Company's catalog number AX358 was a double-sided record featuring Chahārgāh and Zābol on one side and Mokhālef and Maqlub on the other (Kinnear 2000b, 91). These four modes appeared on four of the six non-rhythmic tracks of the set of Dastgāh Chahārgāh in 1906 (Gramophone 1906, 23). The first track of AX358 has recently been published in an album of early recordings from Iran (Mohammadi and Ainley 2014). The following list describes the lengths of each part of that performance in seconds:

- Total length of the performance: 185 seconds (100%)
- 00–27: Chahār-mezrāb in Chahārgāh for thirty seconds (15%)

- 27–90: Instrumental with vocal ornamentations (tahrir) in Chahārgāh (34%)
- 90–157: Zābol with lyrics and ornamentations (36%)
- 157–180: Instrumental with vocal ornamentations in Muyeh (12%)
- 180–185: Return to Chahārgāh (3%)

The three abovementioned modes were performed on two records in 1906; thus, there was enough space to render the lyrics in all three modes, whereas in 1926, there was only space to render the lyrics in one of the three modes. Apart from the only occasion in 1929, when Chahārgāh was recorded on multiple tracks, various modes within Dastgāh Chahārgāh were squeezed into a six-minute duration of a double-sided record. Similarly, other dastgāh stets, particularly Māhur, Shur, Segāh, and Homāyun, were all recorded on double-sided records. The same double-sided records were allocated to popular modes, even if the mode did not have a big collection of related modes compared to the seven dastgāh. Abu-Atā, Afshāri, Bayāt Esfahān, Bayāt Tork, and Dashti are examples of single modes whose popularity increased over the years. As single modes, they were far less extended than a dastgāh set, and it was necessary to add related modes to the other side of the record to fulfil the pattern of coupling two non-rhythmic performances on both sides of a record.

In 1912, a track in Dashti was coupled with a track with Abu-Atā, and another track in Dashti was coupled with a track in Gilaki (Gramophone 1912, 3–4). No pattern existed for coupling the modes during the process of recording because those four tracks were not recorded sequentially. In 1914, when single-sided records from the 1909 recording session were reissued as double-sided records, Abu-Atā was coupled with Gilaki (Gramophone 1914, 4). The following pattern for coupling non-rhythmic performances in popular single modes was developed and adopted from 1926:

- Abu-Atā with Hejāz (Kinnear 2000b, 90, 98, 100, 103, 104,107, 110, 112, 115, 118, 121, 124, 130, 144, 149, 157; Polyphon 1928, 1, 6, 13).
- Afshāri with Erāq, Nahib, Qarāi, and Rohāb (Kinnear 2000b, 97, 106, 131–32, 152, 169; Polyphon 1928, 4).

- Bayāt Tork with Shekasteh, Feyli, and Delkash (Kinnear 2000b, 98, 99, 102, 107, 108, 120, 131, 157, 163–64; Polyphon 1928, 4, 17).

- Bayāt Esfahān with Oshshāq and Bayāt Rāje‘ (Kinnear 2000b, 94, 99, 106, 130, 152; Polyphon 1928, 2, 4, 13, 16).

- Dashti with Ghamangiz, Rahāvandi, and Chupān (Kinnear 2000b, 124, 139, 165; Polyphon 1928, 14)

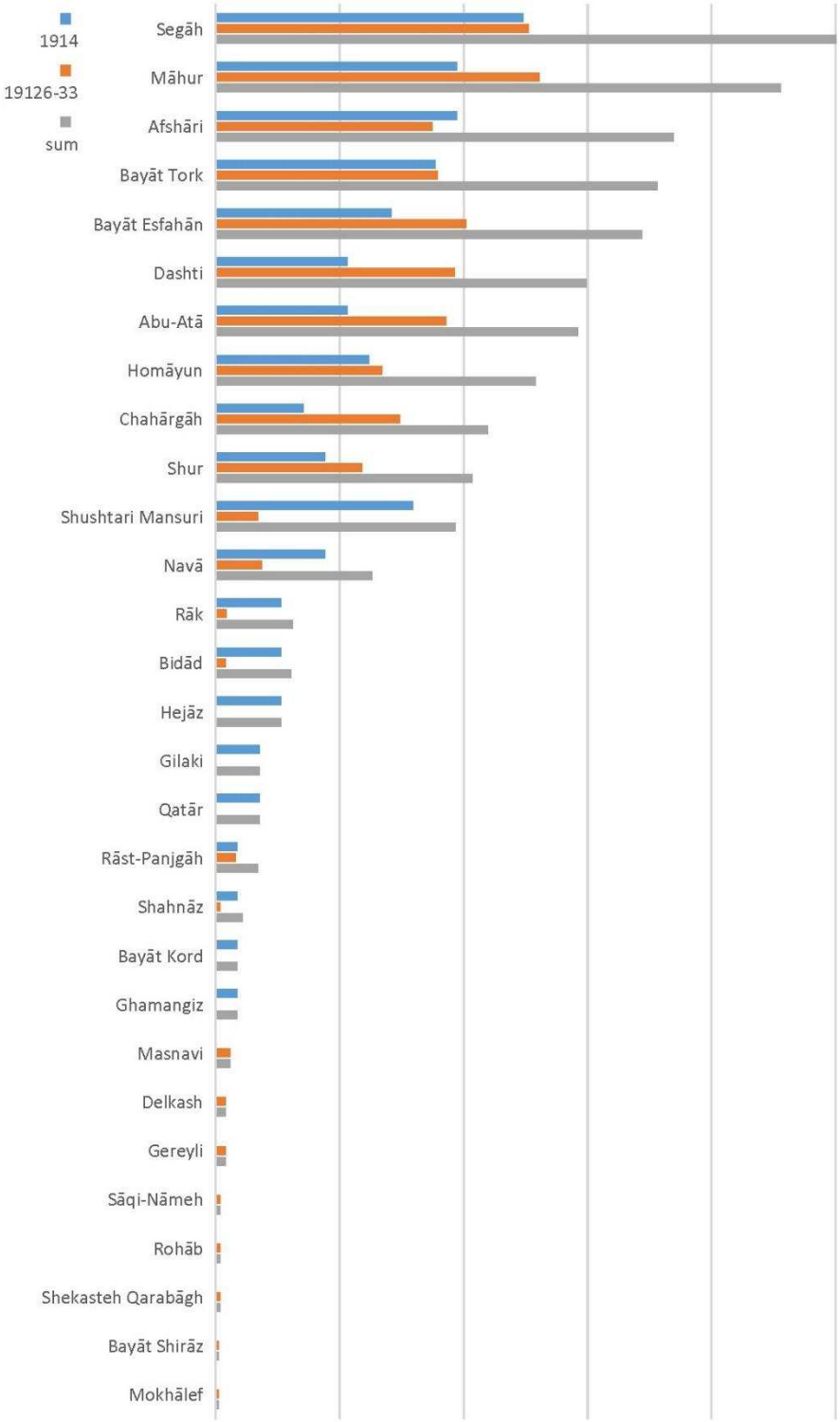
Overall, the technical matter of releasing tracks on both sides of a record forced performers to squeeze dastgāh sets into two tracks and created the necessity to extend Abu-Atā, Afshāri, Bayāt Esfahān, Bayāt Tork, and Dashti. The dual impact of squeezing and extending brought single modes and dastgāh sets closer. Although the single modes were not called dastgāh, they became closer to the form of dastgāh in that they formed smaller dastgāh with fewer modes attached to them, and they contained fewer modulations that were not obvious.

It was common to perform Abu-Atā, Afshāri, Bayāt Tork, and Dashti within Dastgāh Shur, and Bayāt Esfahān could be played within Dastgāh Homāyun. Therefore, the newly extended modes became divisions of Shur and Homāyun. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Vaziri used the term naghmeh to identify those extended modes; however, the tradition of using the term āvāz was so strong that it was brought back as divisions of a dastgāh in the recent transcriptions of the radif (During 1992; Payvar 1996; Vohdani 1997; Talai 1999).

Besides needing to extend and squeeze the modes, double-sided records affected the mode classification in another way. From 1926, when it became a pattern to record two sides in the same or related modes, a double-sided record became the unit for records. It could be a (double-sided) record of non-rhythmic performances in a certain mode or it could feature a song on both sides. The previous pattern of coupling a non-rhythmic performance with a rhythmic piece provided a chance for single modes to become recorded in two forms of non-rhythmic and rhythmic pieces, whereas the following pattern was coupling two songs in the same mode, or it required an extended mode that could be performed as two non-rhythmic tracks. Thus, the number of independent modes decreased and, although the seven dastgāh were recorded on double-sided records with a few extended modes, the remaining modes did not appear on the labels of a double-sided record as the

main mode of the performance. Chart 16 presents the mode distribution on Persian double-sided records and shows that certain modes appeared on more record labels during the interwar period, while the remaining modes appeared on fewer or no labels.

Chart 16: Distribution of modes on double-sided records in 1914 and 1926-33.



In conclusion, the pattern of coupling tracks from double-sided records during the interwar period affected the modal system of Persian music in two ways. First, by coupling two tracks in the same or related modes, each double-sided record presented one mode; thus, the most recorded modes were established as the modal system. Second, related āvāz within a dastgāh were combined as a single mode, while other āvāz were annexed to a few popular āvāz that filled both sides of the record. Consequently, five of the seven dastgāh and five popular āvāz, which were the ten most frequently recorded modes during the interwar period, became closer and when the seven dastgāh were retrieved, the five popular āvāz were added to the system as sub-dastgāh. Thus, the technological characteristics and limitations of the early records played a major role in eliminating the less frequently recorded āvāz and establishing the Persian modal system as a set of a few dastgāh and extended āvāz.

Since the tracks from the 1906 recording session did not follow a certain pattern when they were issued as double-sided records, that session has been excluded from Chart 16. Therefore, it may seem illogical to consider modes on both sides of the double-sided records to examine the popularity of the modes while excluding the first recording session with dozens of musicians and several bands. Nevertheless, Chart 16 might show some of the more popular modes that degraded when the single modes and the dastgāh set were extended and squeezed, respectively. Shushtari or Shushtari-Mansuri, Bidād, Rāk, Hejāz, Qatār, Gilaki, Ghamangiz, Shahnāz, and Bayāt Kord were among the more popular modes recorded on single tracks in 1906. They maintained their status, while the pattern of non-rhythmic versus rhythmic pieces was adopted for recording Persian tracks; however, their status changed once the subsequent pattern required the modes to be extended and squeezed. While Hejāz, Qatār, Gilaki, Ghamangiz, and Bayāt Kord were used to form newly extended modes, Shushtari, Bidād, and Rāk were squeezed into dastgāh sets as parts of Homāyun and Māhur and thus lost their status as single modes. As the fourth popular mode in 1914, Shushtari-Mansuri had more double-sided records than Dashti, Abu-Atā, and Bayāt Esfahān, and more than the dastgāh sets of Homāyun, Shur, Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh, even when the reissued double-sided records of 1906 are included. Chart 17 shows that the top ten recorded modes include five of the seven dastgāh and the five extended āvāz, which were added to the seven dastgāh system in the decades that followed. Chart 18 shows eleven independent modes that were more popular prior to WWI but lost their independent status during the interwar period.

Chart 17: Distribution of the top 10 modes on double-sided records in 1914 and 1926-33.

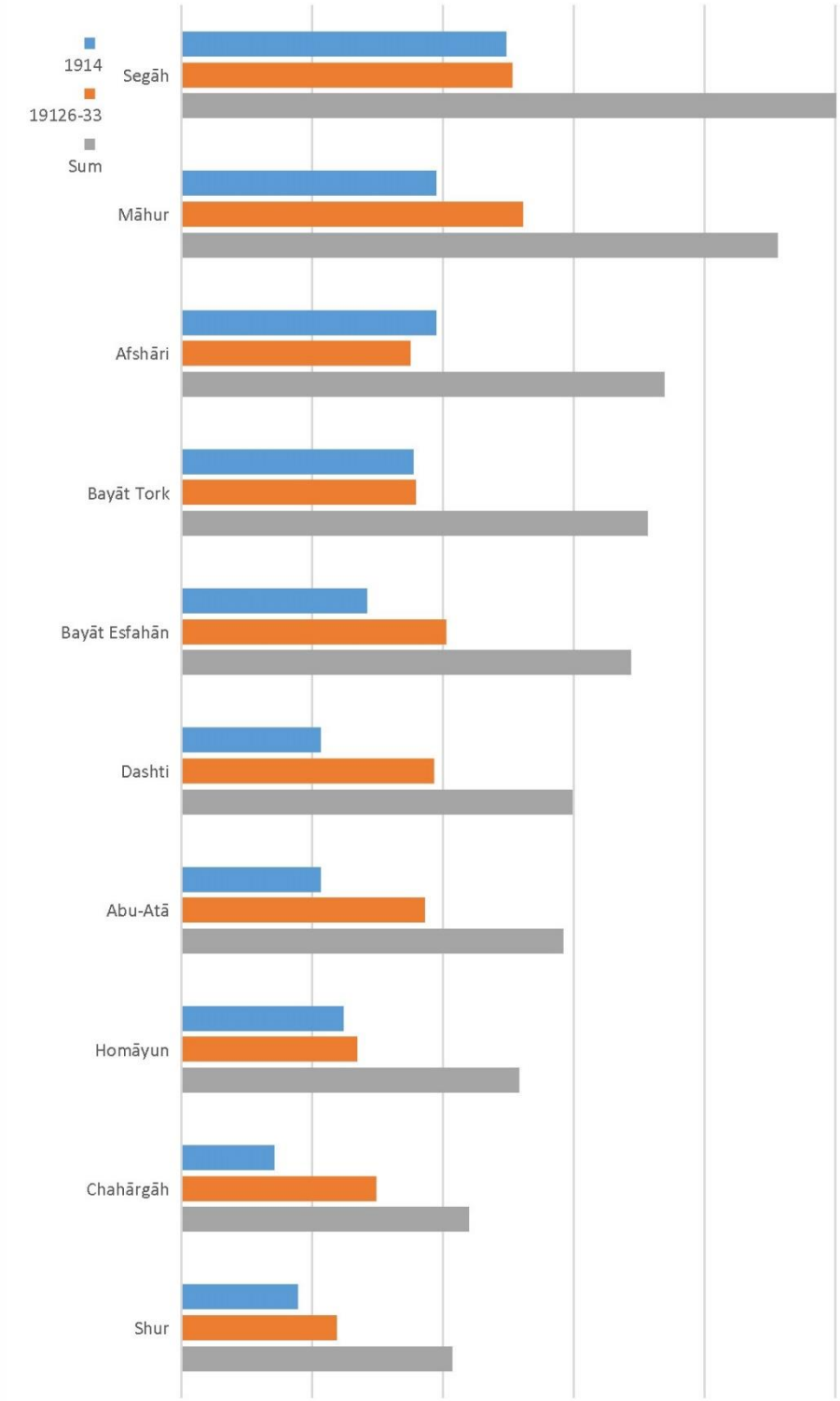
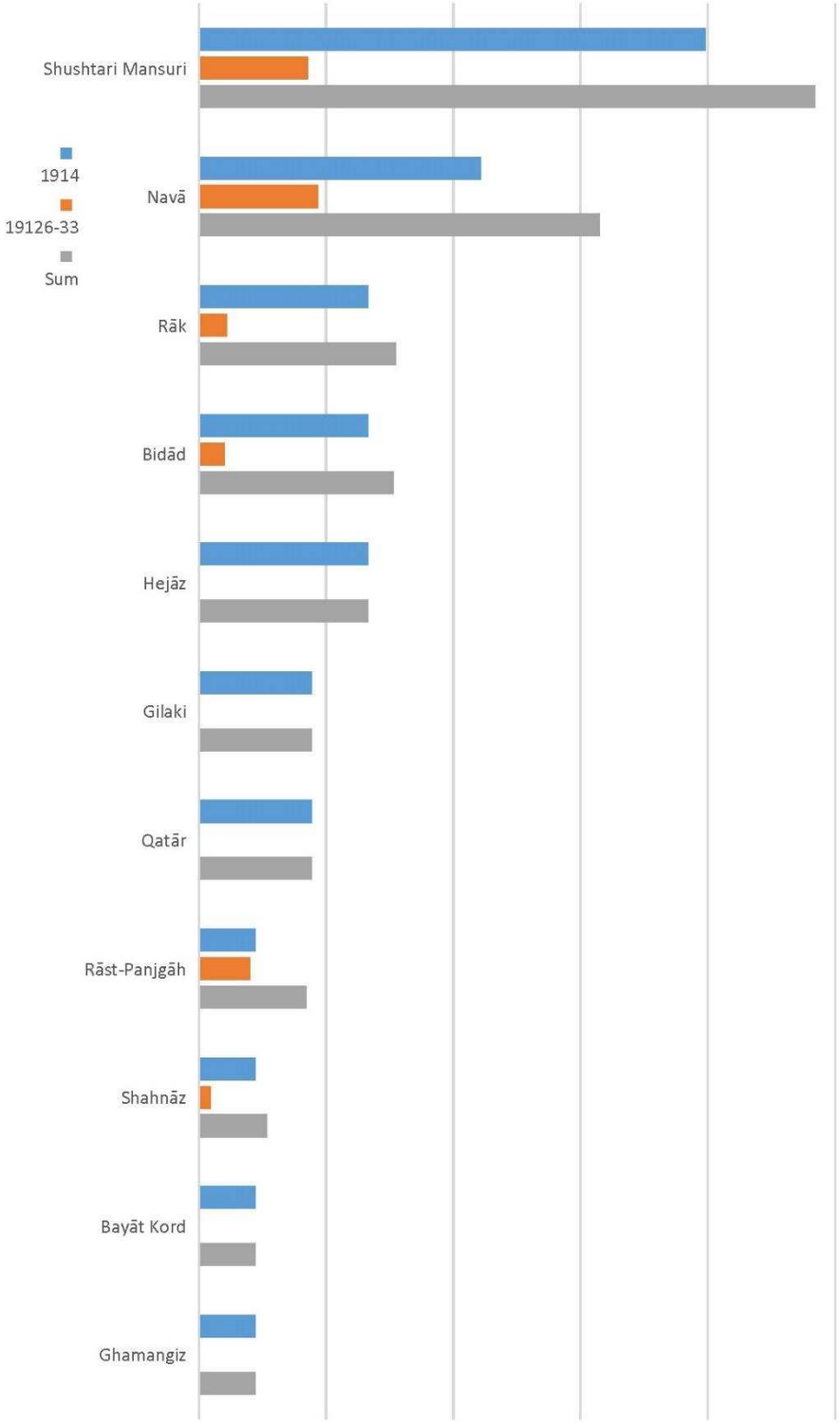


Chart 18: Eleven Popular modes in 1914 that lost their independent status during interwar period.



Conclusion to Part IV

Part IV shows the impact of recordings of music on the Persian modal system, particularly on the complex relationships between the dastgāh and the āvāz. Persians encountered phonographs in 1880, even before the machines were commodified, and by 1889, when Edison's representative presented the newest model of the phonograph to Nāser-od-Din Shah in London, the Shah mentioned that it was better than the model he possessed in Tehran. As a big fan of phonographs, Mozaffar-od-Din Shah issued a Royal Decree for the Gramophone Company's representative, which led to the first commercial recordings of Persian music in 1906.

The first catalog of Persian records to be published in 1906 was an anthology of the Persian modes. Several bands and dozens of musicians participated in the recording session and performed a mode on three-minute records; more than sixty mode names were registered on the record labels. None of the later recording sessions involved as many musicians or registered as many mode names. In 1909, a group of musicians were sent to London to add more Persian recordings to the Gramophone Company's catalog. Although there were only eight musicians, the catalog contained a variety of mode names. In 1912, the next recording session was held in Tehran; however, as most of the recordings were of three mediocre female singers who performed the same modes and songs, the number of mode names decreased dramatically.

Therefore, the recording session in 1906, which was substantially different from the subsequent sessions, is considered separately. The recording sessions in 1909 and 1912 were conducted by the same representative of the Gramophone Company with a similar marketing strategy; hence, the mode data of those two sessions could be merged to minimize the effect of the total number of tracks in each session or random fluctuations when recording a certain mode. Recording Persian music was resumed in 1926 after a fourteen-year interval, and the outcome of those sessions showed substantial differences with the pre-WWI sessions. The recording sessions between 1926 and 1933 are thus considered separately from the earlier sessions and form the third group of recording sessions for the analysis of the recording of single modes.

In conclusion, a comparison of the three periods, i.e., 1906, 1909 to 1912, and 1926 to 1933, shows that the dispersion of the modes changed dramatically. Most of the records were performed in just a few modes and fewer modes were used as time passed. For example, the top five recorded modes were equal to twenty-five percent of all the modes that appeared on the labels in 1906, thirty-nine percent in 1909–12, and forty-five percent in 1926–33. Similarly, the top fifteen modes were equal to seventy-eight percent of all the modes that appeared on the labels in 1909–12 and eighty-three percent in 1926–33, while all modes recorded in 1906 shared ten ranks only.

These figures indicate that from the first to the last period of recording, while less modes were recorded, more records were allocated to the popular modes and fewer records were allocated to the remaining modes. Therefore, the ten more popular modes of Māhur, Segāh, Bayāt Esfahān, Dashti, Abu-Atā, Bayāt Tork, Afshāri, Chahārgāh, Homāyun, and Shur, were repeated more often and the less popular modes were disregarded. Māhur, Segāh, Chahārgāh, Homāyun, and Shur were five āvāz that formed five of the seven dastgāh, while Bayāt Esfahān, Dashti, Abu-Atā, Bayāt Tork, and Afshāri were the five āvāz that eventually retained their independent status when the traditional repertoire of Persian music was published in the 1960s. The two dastgāh of Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh were hardly recorded after 1906. They disappeared from oral tradition until they reappeared when the repertoire of Persian music was established in the 1960s as an icon of Iranian national identity.

In the second approach in data analysis, double-sided records were considered a unit. Three common patterns were developed for coupling recordings of Persian music. For the first pattern, a non-rhythmic vocal performance was coupled with a rhythmic vocal performance (tasnif) in the same mode. For the second pattern, a non-rhythmic vocal performance was coupled on both sides of a record and performed in two related modes. At the same time, a rhythmic vocal performance (tasnif) in a certain mode was coupled on both sides of a double-sided record. Therefore, these coupling patterns influenced the Persian modal system in different ways.

The first pattern simply made longer performances possible, thus an āvāz was followed by a tasnif in the same āvāz as it would be performed traditionally. It was possible to record individual modes on both sides of a double-sided record as a non-rhythmic performance coupled with a

rhythmic performance. The second pattern, which required longer non-rhythmic performances, required more modes to be performed on two tracks of each record. Thus, individual modes needed to be extended to fill both sides of a record. On the contrary, each dastgāh consisted of several individual modes and two tracks of a record were not long enough for a dastgāh performance. Applying the pattern of using one double-sided record for a pair of non-rhythmic performances forced musicians to squeeze various modes within the length of a dastgāh. Thus, the five popular dastgāh became like extended āvāz while the five popular āvāz resembled smaller dastgāh. Eventually, the squeezed dastgāh performances and the extended āvāz became closer as they both appeared as the mode of performance for a double-sided record. When the two dastgāh of Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh were retrieved, the modal system of Persian music evolved into a set of seven dastgāh and five āvāz, which eventually became the set of twelve dastgāh in musicology and ethnomusicology literature, as it was discussed in Part I.

Conclusion

This dissertation investigated the emergence and evolution of the modern modal system of the traditional urban Persian music and addressed the dichotomy of the cultural and historical differences between the knowledge of Persian music in the nineteenth century and the modern interpretations by the musicologists in the twentieth century. The main research question generates the following specific questions: How did the dominant interpretation of the dastgāh emerge in ethnomusicology literature? How did the concept of dastgāh emerge in its native context? What was the native interpretation of the Persian modal system in the nineteenth century? What was the role of the commercial recordings in the evolution of the modern Persian modal system? To understand the historical differences, this dissertation used various sources including Persian musical manuscripts, early Persian publications on music, early European publications of Persian music, first catalogs of commercial Persian records, Persian newspapers, and diaries and travel accounts from the nineteenth century.

Part I of the dissertation explained how the dastgāh entered European publications and how the system of the twelve dastgāh emerged in musicology and ethnomusicology literature. Concluding that the modern twelve dastgāh was not a native concept, the remainder of the dissertation explained the emergence and evolution of the history and the evolution of the native version of the Persian music system. Part II provided a historical account of the modal systems of Persian music in the context of the native texts on music including the emergence of the dastgāh, and Part III provided a detailed account of the āvāz as the modal entity of Persian music. Part IV conducted a data analysis of the record catalogs to explain how recording music influenced the modal system. The analysis showed that recording a few āvāz repeatedly helped to retain them as individual modes while diminishing the individual status of the remaining āvāz by squeezing them into the dastgāh set. That process resulted in a system of seven dastgāh and five āvāz, which was interpreted as the twelve dastgāh in musicology and ethnomusicology literature.

Scattered information on mode classification in pre-Islamic Persia outlined a set of seven modes, although it is difficult to verify the nature of such classifications. In the thirteenth century, two contemporary texts presented two modal systems that were similar in terms of a set of twelve modes with another set of six modes, and the two sets shared many of modes. However, it is

difficult to verify the extent to which the musicians considered the two sets of modes when classifying the modal system in practice. It is likely that the modal system of the twelve and six modes was influenced by the symbolism of numbers because several modes were not included in that system. In the early fourteenth century, another set of modes entered the musical texts through the following generation of writers, which became fixed as a set of twenty-four modes during the fourteenth century. A century later, a set of forty-eight modes emerged as the fourth set of modes, and a binary derivational relation was introduced to the mode sets so that each pair of modes from a bigger group was derived from one mode in the smaller group. Thus, the set of six modes generated twelve modes, the twelve modes generated twenty-four modes, and the twenty-four modes generated forty-eight modes.

That binary mode classification was rather symbolic, and it was exaggerated by adding a set of three modes and a set of ninety-six modes to the beginning and end of the derivations. Even though such a mathematical binary mode classification might be possible in theory, it is impossible to prepare such a perfect derivational classification in practice. As a result, several versions of didactic poems were recited to assist in memorizing the symbolic relations between the modes, and a celebrated musician and writer from the sixteenth century even rejected the derivational mode classification, although he added that it was useful for memorizing the mode names. Regardless of whether the derivational mode classification was symbolic, another concept established between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries connected the modes in a different way.

A historical study of the emergence of dastgāh shows that it was originally a concept of multimodal performance with roots in the concept of the proximity of modes that was first written down briefly in the fourteenth century. In the sixteenth century, a concept of multimodal performance instruction emerged in the musical texts, which outlined four multimodal performance suites that started with a certain mode and returned to the same mode. The concept of multimodal performance instruction was developed further, appearing in musical texts under the title of shad in the seventeenth century. As a shad was more than a multimodal performance suite, and a performance order was added to the concept, it is likely that the shad was renamed dastgāh in the eighteenth century. Speculations about when the shad was renamed dastgāh do not affect the conclusion that the concept remained the same and it was merely renamed and

reconstructed. Both shad and dastgāh were multimodal performance suites with an integrated order for performing one mode after another.

While dastgāh as a multimodal performance suite existed in the Persian musical system, āvāz was the modal entity of Persian music. Āvāz was used to refer to modes in general in several musical manuscripts and in non-musical texts. Therefore, musicians and non-musicians referred to modes as āvāz, including the Shah and Persian aristocrats, thus indicating that āvāz was established as a general term for modes in music terminology and in the society. Āvāz was such a common term among Persians that even when referring to European modes and pieces, it was the first term that would come to mind.

Āvāz was also registered in various sources printed in Europe. The first transcription of Persian classical music, titled *Hâvâs Irani*, was published in 1881, and by 1900, when more transcriptions of Persian music were published in Europe, the presence of āvāz was bold. The catalog of Persian records in 1906 included dozens of musicians and several bands, and yet āvāz was the dominant term for the modes. Even the seven sets of seven dastgāh were preceded by "Dastgāh-e Āvāz-e" or "Āvāz-e Dastgāh-e," which explained that the dastgāh belonged to a certain āvāz. In addition, in the first Persian book on music, *Bohur-ol-Alhān*, most of the modes were accompanied by the term āvāz, and in subsequent books on music that were published by musicians who were acquainted with the European theory of music, āvāz had a bold presence and was used widely to refer to modes.

While āvāz of Persian music was comparable to raga of Indian music or maqam of Arabic music, it was not an exact equivalent of any of the terms or concepts of European music theory and it could only be explained by using a few terms combined, particularly since Lemaire, Vaziri, and their followers used a simplistic notion of European music theory of the early twentieth century. Initially, āvāz would be closer to the mode; however, it is difficult to use the term mode without confusion because musicologists and ethnomusicologists use mode for a diverse variety of musical concepts worldwide (Powers et al. 2016). I use mode as a simple notion of scales and degrees; however, as a Persian musician would understand after studying European music theory, the term mode signifies the major or minor scale in the nineteenth century (Powers et al. 2016, IV). Thus, āvāz could represent a mode in its simple meaning, such as āvāz Māhur and āvāz Bayāt

Esfahān, which were comparable to major and minor modes, respectively. Āvāz could also be a transposition of a mode to a certain degree or a certain type of modulation, such as āvāz Hesār, which could be a transposition of āvāz Māhur to the fourth degree or a transposition of āvāz Chahārgāh to the fifth degree. Similarly, āvāz Shekasteh, which means broken in Persian, was a specific type of modulation during which the performer would break the mode. Moreover, an āvāz could represent a form or a melodic pattern, such as āvāz Bayāt Rāje, which could be included in dastgāh Navā or performed after āvāz Bayāt Esfahān.

In general, āvāz was a non-rhythmic piece; however, once dastgāh became the base for the Persian modal system, āvāz was stripped of its modal character and consequently represented the non-rhythmic part of a dastgāh performance defined as a set of Pish-Darāmad, āvāz, tasnif, and reng. When the modal system of Persian music was fixed as a set of dastgāh with different scales, and because āvāz was eliminated as the modal entity of Persian music, musicologists used the term gusheh to refer to the various modes within the dastgāh. However, not all of the pieces within a dastgāh could be a specific mode because each āvāz could have distinguishable parts. According to Forsat Shirazi, who published the first book on Persian music, gusheh was the smallest distinguishable piece that could not be considered an āvāz or dastgāh (M.-N. Shirazi 1914, 55). Dariouche Safvate, who had learned Persian music from traditional musicians, noticed the problem and tried to solve it by suggesting the term shah-gusheh,[1] a term that referred to the bigger pieces within a dastgāh, which could be considered as more independent modes (Safvate and Caron 1966, 48, 65, 81, 88, 112, 114, 156, 202).

A two-word term was used to refer to the main body of Persian music: Āvāz & Tasnif. The former referred to the non-rhythmic part and the latter referred to the rhythmic part; the former could be instrumental or vocal but the latter was a vocal piece. There are many instances of using Āvāz & Tasnif as a term for Persian music, both in musical publications and in non-musical texts. Although Alfred Lemaire mainly published Persian songs and pieces for the military bands, his last publications, which were most likely prepared by a Persian pianist named Arsalān Nāser-Homāyun, presented vocal-instrumental performances of Persian music, and the book was entitled

[1] Shah is commonly added to many Persian words to make the superior of any kind; for instance, Shah-kelid refers to a master key and Shah-rāh refers to a main road.

Avâz et Tèsnîf Persans. Lemaire added a note to that book in which the term "Avâz et Tèsnîf" appeared twice (Lemaire 1900a, Note de l'Auteur). Nāser-od-Din Shah used that term on several occasions in his journal when travelling in Europe in 1873. For example, in the city of Spa in Belgium, he mentioned a music band, which "played muzikān and sang 'Āvāz [&] Tasnif'," and he stated that the students of a school for orphans in Paris sang "Āvāz & Tasnif" in French, which they had practiced for his welcome ceremony (N.-D. Shah 1998, 127, 250). The Shah was welcomed to the city of Qazvin in 1889 on his return from his third visit to Europe, and during the music performance, he told his son, Prince Nāyeb-os-Saltaneh, that he had brought scores of the "Āvāz & Tasnif of Farangestān" (European music pieces) to be practiced and performed by the Persian military bands (Amin-Lashkar 1999, 216).

During Mozaffar-od-Din Shah's first visit to Europe in 1900, his travel journal was published by a French writer named N. Corbelin and translated into Persian by Reza-Qoli Nayyer-ol-Molk, who used Āvāz & Tasnif to refer to music on two occasions (Corbelin n.d.b., 177). Similarly, Gholām-Ali Aziz-os-Soltān wrote in his diary that an Armenian girl in Tehran played the piano, and she played "Āvāz & Tasnif" very well (Aziz-os-Soltan 1997, 1:149). Even the icon of Europeanization of Persian music, Ali-Naqi Vaziri, mentioned in one of his speeches in 1938 that nobody could tell what Āvāz & Tasnif, i.e., music, had been performed in the past (Vaziri 1938, 854). Last, almost all of the records from the first commercial recording session for Persian music in 1906 were entitled either Āvāz or Tasnif (see Chapter 8). Therefore, while rhythmic instrumental forms, namely Chahār-mezrāb and Reng, could be used to refer to a specific performance, Āvāz & Tasnif as a general term referred to the main body of music.

Why did āvāz almost disappear from the Persian music system and why did dastgāh become the center of the modal system of Persian music? The insiders had one reason to highlight dastgāh over āvāz, and the outsiders had another reason. The technological reason was based on the limitations and characteristics of the records. The inside reason was the historical importance of the concept of the dastgāh. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the concept of modulation, which entered Persian musical texts in the fourteenth century, was developed as a set of multimodal performances during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and eventually renamed dastgāh. A musician knew to play the modes, i.e., the āvāz; however, it is possible that some performers knew more āvāz than others or were able to render a more elaborate version of an āvāz. What mattered as the knowledge

of music was the knowledge of dastgāh, or multimodal performance complex, as *The Treatise on the Twelve Dastgāh* stated about Āqā-Bābā Makhmur who was celebrated for establishing the canon of the twelve dastgāh. The author also stated the following about Āqā Mohammad-Reza, who was most probably the uncle of the main source of today's radif, Mirza Abdollah:

> He was unparalleled in knowing the arrangement of the twelve dastgāh and the order of each dastgāh, and in the knowledge of all gusheh and sho'beh and not dropping any of them in playing, and in knowing the names of each of them[1] (Anon. 9957 1839, fol. 14r).

Because of the significance of the dastgāh as the knowledge of Persian music, the author presented the set of the seven dastgāh in the introduction of the first published musical text in Persian, *Bohur-ol-Alhān*, although he used āvāz for the modes in the rest of the introduction and in the body of the book.

The outside reason for considering dastgāh as the basis of the Persian modal system was that it made it easier to recognize and explain the Persian modal system. Alfred Lemaire recognized six dastgāh with six different scales in which all the āvāz would be performed and yet he failed to mention the seventh dastgāh, Rāst-Panjgāh, because it would most likely generate the same scale as dastgāh Māhur. If āvāz was considered as the basis for the Persian modal system, it would have been much more difficult to understand or explain the modal system using the terminology of the nineteenth-century European music theory. It must have been equally difficult to understand and explain the Turkish or Arabic maqam or the Indian raga using the terminology and concepts of European music theory. Persian music, however, offered dastgāh that eased the understanding; therefore, Lemaire, Vaziri, and the other musicologists naturally chose dastgāh to explain the modal system of Persian music. Vaziri went further and considered only four dastgāh with independent scales, concluding that Rāst-Panjgāh was a subsidiary of Māhur, Segāh was a subsidiary of Chahārgāh, and Navā was a subsidiary of Shur. Thus, he could reduce the number of Persian modes and presumably make the system of Persian music closer to the European system of major and minor scales.

[1] «در ترتیب دوازده دستگاه و نظم هر دستگاه و دانستن گوشه ها و شعبه ها و ترک نکردن هیچ یک در نواختن و دانستن اسامی هر یک بی مانند بود.»

The technological reason lies in the technological and physical features of the records. As all Persian records prior to WWII were recorded on shellac discs, each track was around three minutes on average. The limited record length and availability of blank records in Persia might have forced musicians to make shorter performances in 1906, which were mostly performed in individual modes and meant for release on single-sided records. As a result, more than sixty mode names appeared on the single-sided records, and seven sets of single-sided records were allocated to brief performances in the seven dastgāh. Therefore, the 1906 recordings had a lesser impact on the status of the āvāz as the individual mode and the dastgāh as the multimodal performance.

In 1909 and 1912, recordings were issued on double-sided records with a pattern of coupling a non-rhythmic performance with a rhythmic performance in the same mode. Enough space was left for recording and issuing individual modes on the double-sided records; however, the more popular modes were used instead, and thus the modes with more recordings became more popular in the society. Consequently, fewer tracks became available for the less popular modes, and the total number of recorded modes decreased.

Recordings from the interwar period had a deeper impact on the modal system. Similar to the recordings from 1909 and 1912, more tracks incorporated the more popular modes, which made the popular modes more popular while the less popular modes lost their individual status. Additionally, the pattern of coupling tracks on double-sided records was altered to pairing two non-rhythmic performances in related modes or two rhythmic performances in the same mode. Since each double-sided record was performed in a certain dastgāh or in one of the few more popular āvāz, the dastgāh had to be squeezed into two tracks of each record, and the few popular āvāz had to be extended to fill both sides of the record. On the one hand, because the dastgāh was squeezed by diminishing the individual status of the modes within the dastgāh, many modes were not performed, and the performed modes were not mentioned on the labels in many cases, thus diminishing the individual status of the modes. On the other hand, a few related āvāz were added to each of the more popular āvāz to extend them. The status of the dastgāh and the few āvāz therefore became closer; that is, a dastgāh became an extended āvāz and an extended āvāz became a short dastgāh.

The physical features of the double-sided records affected not only the length of each track, the allocation of the tracks to various modes, and the patterns for pairing the tracks, but also the establishment of the mode unit.

Thus, several factors related to the recorded music, such as the length of each track, the allocation of the tracks to various modes, and patterns for pairing the tracks, affected the conceptual evolution of the Persian modal system. Similarly, the physical feature of the double-sided records affected the establishment of the Persian modal system. From the development of the early double-sided Persian records in 1909 and after the popularity of the records during the interwar period, the double-sided record became the mode unit. Both sides of a record were in a certain dastgāh or in one of the few extended āvāz; thus, each record represented a certain mode, and the records became mode units of the Persian music system.

Among the seven dastgāh and five āvāz, which formed the dominant version of the Persian modal system, five of the seven dastgāh and all five āvāz were the top ten modes that were allocated the most tracks during the interwar period.[1] The two dastgāh of Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh, which were not recorded as often as the other five dastgāh, were almost forgotten. The two dastgāh were mainly abandoned because of their limited popularity, which was evident because few new rhythmic pieces were composed in those two dastgāh. Moreover, considering their profits, the recording companies tried to cut costs by hiring new performers who would accept lower payments, even if they were only familiar with the more popular modes. Therefore, the more complicated dastgāh, which were also less popular, were rarely recorded. Likewise, as the audience had become more acquainted with the popular modes, the popular modes sold more easily, and as record companies and performers wanted to have better-selling records, they naturally chose to create and sell more popular modes. Therefore, even if they were able to record less popular modes, they rarely chose to do so.

A common myth described in Chapter 3 claimed that Mirza Abdollah knew five dastgāh and learned the two remaining dastgāh, Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh, by listening to his cousin while

[1] The following were the top ten modes during interwar period: (1) Dastgāh Māhur, (2) dastgāh Segāh, (3) āvāz Bayāt Esfahān, (4) āvāz Dashti, (5) āvāz Abu-Atā, (6) āvāz Bayāt Tork, (7) āvāz Afshāri, (8) dastgāh Chahārgāh, (9) dastgāh Homāyun, (10) dastgāh Shur.

hiding behind doors and windows. The two remaining dastgāh had almost been forgotten until they came to the attention of the musicians again in the 1960s, when the Iranian government launched a movement to recover the traditional music. It is likely that the myth of Mirza Abdollah's lack of knowledge of those two dastgāh reflected the uncommonness of the two dastgāh that were rarely recorded and were not easily available to musicians and audiences. Nevertheless, in 1906, Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh were recorded as sets of single-sided records by eminent musicians who were not related to Mirza Abdollah.[1] It is also possible that the two dastgāh might have almost been forgotten because Europeanized musicians undermined them, considering Navā as part of Shur and Rāst-Panjgāh as part of Māhur (Khaleqi 1983, 2:127), and thus failing to learn them in full detail. Consequently, the new generation of musicians only learned about the five dastgāh that had five distinguishable scales. After several decades, when musicians tried to recover the two dastgāh, they had become shrouded in the myth that reflected Mirza Abdollah's knowledge of five dastgāh and lack of knowledge of Navā and Rāst-Panjgāh.

The commercial recording of Persian music was not the only factor that influenced the subsequent hierarchy of the Persian modes, and a complex reflexivity existed between mode popularity and other factors. The new concept of composing songs had also a significant effect on mode popularity. Āref Qazvini and Ali-Akbar Sheydā were two composers of popular songs in the early twentieth century. It is difficult to evaluate Sheydā's songs because no book or manuscript is attributed to him; however, Āref Qazvini published his poems in his older age and included twenty-four of his songs in that book. Among those twenty-four songs, seven were in Afshāri, five were in Dashti, three were in Shur, two were in Segāh, two were in Bayāt Tork, and one song was in the modes of Māhur, Bayāt Esfahān, Abu-Atā, and Hejāz. This means that eighteen songs were in the āvāz Afshāri, Dashti, Bayāt Tork, Abu-Atā, and Hejāz, and six songs were in dastgāh Shur, Segāh, and Māhur (Āref 1924b, 9–61), which shows that composers like Āref Qazvini, whose songs became popular in the early twentieth century, also influenced the hierarchy of the modes by composing songs in more popular āvāz while choosing not to compose any song in Navā or Rāst-Panjgāh.

[1] Dastgāh Navā was recorded by Ali-Akbar Khan and Qoli Khan, both were introduced with the title Shahi, which revealed they were among the Shah's favorite musicians; dastgāh Rāst-Panjgāh was recorded by Asadollāh Khan and Seyyed Ahmad Khan (Gramophone 1906, 24, 29).

The recording of female singers was another influential factor on mode hierarchy. While many male singers of the commercial records have remained in oral history and their names are occasionally mentioned in some of the contemporary texts, no information is given about the three female singers whose voices were recorded in 1912. Similarly, no information exists about most of the female singers whose voices were recorded during the interwar period. Female singers were introduced by the recording companies and vanished soon afterwards, unless their records became popular. Apart from a few exceptions such as Qamar-ol-Moluk (1905–1959) and Moluk Zarrābi (ca.1910–2000), the female singers were not comparable to the male singers in terms of elaborate singing techniques and knowledge of the Persian modes, especially the first three singers who recorded most of the music tracks during the recording session in 1912. Even if they could recognize more complicated or obscure modes, they would not have been able to perform them on one of the better selling records.

Āref Qazvini's popular songs were recorded on multiple tracks by those first female singers in 1912. Not only did the popularity of the songs, the novelty of the female singing, and the circulation of the commercial records influence mode hierarchy individually, but the combination of the three also boosted the influence of each factor. A similar situation occurred during the interwar period. Qamar-ol-Moluk became a popular female singer when she was introduced by the Gramophone Company in 1926. Singing popular songs in popular modes increased her popularity to legendary status, and her interwar songs entered the classic repertory mainly because the interwar period was the golden age of the Persian shellac records.

As the catalog of the recording session in 1906 shows (Gramophone 1906), old tasnif (songs) would be composed in an āvāz, including the central āvāz of each dastgāh. However, interwar songs were composed in a dastgāh or extended āvāz. Therefore, not only were modulations incorporated in the tasnif, but a dastgāh or extended āvāz also became a mode unit in which a tasnif was composed. Moreover, most of the interwar tasnif were in the top ten recorded modes.[1]

[1] Mohammad-Ali Amir-jāhed (1896–1977) was a popular songwriter in the interwar period. He published a collection of his songs in 1954 and with a few exceptions, all songs were composed in the ten popular dastgāh and āvāz (Amir-Jāhed 1954).

A number of influential factors on the hierarchy of modes and the establishment of the Persian music system could not be addressed in this dissertation. For example, the first methods for practicing instruments were among the influential factors. Although the knowledge of music had been discussed in musical texts in Persian and Arabic, the practice of music was always an oral tradition. When Ali-Naqi Vaziri published the first methods for playing Persian music on the tar and violin, his books transmitted his understanding of the modal system to the students who used those books. Abol-Hasan Sabā, a talented student of Vaziri who published methods for the santur and violin, had an ongoing influence because his methods are still being used widely. Therefore, the popularity of modes was influenced by a mixed range of factors that include the number of recordings in a certain mode, the number of composed songs in a certain mode, record companies' selection and interest, recording coordinators' and musicians' preferences, the popularity of female singers and certain songs, society's demand, and the understanding and preferences of the authors of the first methods for the Persian instruments and the first Persian books on music.

The extended āvāz were fixed as a set of five mainly because of the symbolic value of the numbers in Persian culture. Throughout the thousands years of history of Persian music, two mythical numbers manifested as sets of modes repeatedly: seven and twelve.[1] The seven Rāh attributed to Bārbad, the seven pardeh by Ali-Shah Bokhāri, and the seven dastgāh were instances of the manifestations of the number seven. Similarly, the number twelve was manifested in the twelve pardeh by Nishāburi and Ormavi and the twelve dastgāh in the early nineteenth century. It is thus unsurprising that only five of the more popular modes were included in the modern modal system of Persian music so that the system of the seven dastgāh could retain its mythical number and avoid the inauspiciousness of the number thirteen. That is also a likely reason why āvāz Bayāt Kord is not included as a sixth sub-dastgāh, even though it is an independent sub-dastgāh in the recent transcriptions of the radif (During 1992, 155–63; Talai 1995, 75–86; Payvar 1996, 71–72). However, it is unclear why a fourteenth mode, such as Shahnāz or Shushtari, was not included so

[1] Number six also appeared as sets of six modes, most probably because it was symbolically related to the set of the twelve modes mentioned by Mohammad Nishāburi (Nishāburi 1265, fol. 27v), one of the two writers who mentioned a system consisting of a set of twelve modes and a set of six modes.

that the total number would either become fourteen or form a pair of the sets of seven modes that was once registered by Ali-Shah Bokhāri in the thirteenth century.

The first account of the dastgāh system in a European language was published by Alfred Lemaire, who mentioned six dastgāh with different scales; the seventh was most probably ignored because it would not generate a different scale. However, Lemaire's one-page description was mostly about "Les *âvâz* persans," which was performed in the six scales of the six dastgāh. Léon Descos (Eugène Aubin) registered a set of eight dastgāh, which retained an extra dastgāh from the early nineteenth-century set of twelve dastgāh. He also referred to āvāz, and described the dastgāh as a performance suite similar to the Nawba in the North-African musical traditions. While Aubin's account was once copied by Arthur Christensen without acknowledgment, Lemaire's account was occasionally cited by subsequent authors such as Clément Huart. Abbas Mehrin was the first Iranian scholar who wrote about Persian music in a European language in the first half of the twentieth century, although his book was published in India. Although Mehrin mentioned Vaziri and his twenty-four quarter-tone theory, he simply mentioned the traditional system of the seven dastgāh without further explanation.

Vaziri was charismatic, and he became the most influential figure of Persian music in the twentieth century, suggesting that his twenty-four scale would make Europeans appreciate Persian music if it was harmonized. On traveling to Europe to study European music, he perhaps found himself less competent a performer than the young European students. Therefore, the twenty-four quarter-tone discourse was a good way to present himself to the European music scholarship. Vaziri claimed in his account of the history of music that the Italian musician based in Berlin, Ferruccio Busoni (1866–1924), had conducted extensive research on the quarter tones and even invented a quarter-tone organ, and he added that a conference followed by a performance of a quartet composition with quarter tones at Hochschule für Musik in Berlin ended with playing Persian records because the European performers were unable to perform the quarter tones adequately (Vaziri 1932, 68). He used his charisma to advocate his claim that Persian music would have a lofty status in the world if it was polyphonic, and to make it polyphonic, Persian modes needed to be simplified and interpreted as a few simple scales.

Although Vaziri published his theories in Persian, his students used them to produce the earliest publications on the modern Persian music system in French, English, and German. The main theme in describing the modal system of Persian music was suggesting scales for the dastgāh and explaining the modal system based on those scales, a theme that was first introduced by the French musician Alfred Lemaire. Various interpretations of the Persian modal system were inconsistent, and even those by the same author had inconsistent interpretations. For example, Mehdi Barkechli, the first student of Vaziri who published on Persian music in Europe, published his first book in Tehran, for which he used a transcription of the seven dastgāh by Mehdi-Qoli Hedāyat preserved at the School of Music in Tehran. Barkechli therefore presented the traditional seven dastgāh as the modal system in his first publication, however, he considered Bayāt Esfahān as a dastgāh in his following publications.

Khatschi Khatschi was a Persian student trained in European music in Tehran and moved to Germany to practice European music. He decided to study musicology after failing as a performer, most probably because his training in Iran was insufficient to compete with European students. His PhD dissertation in musicology, which looked like convincing historical research, introduced the modal system of Persian music as a set of twelve dastgāh. However, he attempted to conduct historical research for which he was not prepared, and that led him to make a number of fundamental mistakes.

Khatschi could have chosen to ignore the difference between the seven dastgāh and the five sub-dastgāh to make the Persian modal system simpler, but instead he claimed that Mirza Abdollah reduced the number of dastgāh to seven. It might be true that Mirza Abdollah reduced the number of dastgāh; however, there is no firm evidence to believe that claim. Khatschi's main source was a short account of the seven dastgāh entitled "The Gusheh-hā of the Seven Dastgāh" by the author, Bahā-od-Din Bāmshād. Similar to Khatschi, Bāmshād was trained in European music in Tehran, and he was no more than a mediocre performer. Bāmshād claimed that the number of dastgāh used to be ten, and Khatschi made reference to additional sets of ten modes in the past to support Bāmshād's claim; however, Khatschi made false assumptions and presented flawed arguments. Khatschi also referred to Vaziri's approach of recognizing four scales for the seven dastgāh and argued that Mirza Abdollah had a similar reductionist approach, while Vaziri tried to apply European music theory and Mirza Abdollah was an iconic figure of the traditional

knowledge. Even if his arguments concerning a set of ten dastgāh were valid, it was wrong that he concluded with a set of twelve dastgāh instead of ten.

Khatschi attempted to eliminate the confusion surrounding the modal system of Persian music after it was established as a set of seven dastgāh with five extended āvāz. While the five āvāz had become closer to the seven dastgāh by absorbing a few more āvāz, this system confused musicologists who tried to suggest a logical classification using European music theory while keeping the traditional set of the seven dastgāh. To overcome this, Khatschi claimed that the traditional system was based on the twelve sets called dastgāh. However, his lack of knowledge of the oral tradition and the original musical texts in the manuscripts, as well as a lack of preparedness for conducting historical research, made him transform a recently shaped set of seven dastgāh and five extended āvāz to recover a forgotten knowledge of ten or twelve dastgāh.

This dissertation incorporates a variety of different sources, including musical manuscripts, historical texts from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, early publications on Persian music, and catalogs of commercial recordings of Persian music. While the present research study may not be a demodernization of the modal system of Persian music, studying the process of modernization might help to demodernize, the Persian modal system.

This dissertation has shown that the dastgāh was a multimodal performance suite that evolved from the modulation in practice. This study has also shown that the modes of Persian music were called āvāz, and each dastgāh consisted of several āvāz. While Persian musicians performed various āvāz as a general practice, the multimodal performance of dastgāh was considered a deeper knowledge of music. That was the insiders' reason for defining the Persian music system based on the dastgāh. In addition, considering a few dastgāh instead of dozens of āvāz made it easier to explain the Persian modal system using European music theory, especially if each dastgāh were reduced to a basic scale to represent the central mode of the dastgāh. That was the outsider's reason for defining the Persian modal system based on the dastgāh.

Commercial recordings of Persian music influenced the complex relationships among the terms within Persian musicology. First, recording and releasing Persian music on commercial records played an important role in the popularity of the few āvāz that were later elevated as the new dastgāh. Moreover, the physical and technological characteristics of the double-sided

influenced the relationship between the seven dastgāh and the few more popular āvāz because they were both issued on one double-sided record. To do so, the dastgāh and popular āvāz were presented as the mode of the records, but the dastgāh had to be squeezed and the popular had to be extended to ensure they would not only fit but also fill the double-sided records.

When the first generation of Persian musicologists produced the earliest publications on Persian music, they inherited a tradition of defining the knowledge of Persian music based on the seven dastgāh. They also inherited a few popular āvāz that had been extended and become closer to the dastgāh. The system of the seven dastgāh and a few āvāz was established as the seven dastgāh and five āvāz because of the symbolic value of the number twelve in Persian culture; this system was then redefined as the set of the twelve dastgāh to reduce the complexity of combining dastgāh with sub-dastgāh.

Appendix: Catalogue de disques Persans de la compagnie The Gramophone & Typewriter Ltd.

CATALOGUE

DE DISQUES PERSANS
DE LA COMPAGNIE
THE GRAMOPHONE &
TYPEWRITER LTD.

DISQUES DE 17½ cm

ORCHESTRES.

تصنیف هردم خواهم زنم با رنك
دستهٔ اعتضادیه — **10063**

Par la Musique Impériale „Ettezadieh“

تصنیف آواز رهاب
دستهٔ اعتضادیه — **10064**

Par la Musique Impériale „Ettezadieh“

بیك نگاه مرحمت
دستهٔ اعتضادیه — **10065**

Par la Musique Impériale „Ettezadieh“

تصنیف اول عهد شب است
دستهٔ اعتضادیه — **10066**

Par la Musique Impériale „Ettezadieh“

تصنیف یا چهره بپوش
دستهٔ اعتضادیه — **10067**

Par la Musique Impériale „Ettezadieh“

SOLI D'INSTRUMENTS.

آواز قطار
قلیخان یاور تنبا کلارینت ارکس شاهی — **16009**

Yaver Gouli-Khan de la Musique de S. M. Le Chah

آواز بیات ترك
باکمانچهٔ باقر خان تنها — **16010**

Solo Kémantché, Bagher-Kahn

باق بیات ترك با رنك
باکمانچهٔ باقر خان تنها — **16011**

Solo Kémantché, Bagher-Khan

DISQUES DE 17½ cm

SOLI D'INSTRUMENTS (continué).

آواز کبری تصنیف کیلکی
حسین شمرانی با حسن خان سرنا — **17701**
Solo Sorna, Hossein Chimrani et Hassan Khan

آواز قرابانی تصنیف داداش داداش اماندی
حسین شمرانی باحسن خان سورنا — **17702**
Solo Sorna, Hossein Chimrani et Hassan Khan

آواز کیلانی

صفدر خان بانی هفت بند — **19153**
Solo Ney haft band Safdar-Khan

مشق رومی ترك

تار میرزا عبدالله — **19285**
Solo Thar, Mirza Abdullah

تصنیف تازه
تنها حسن خان سنتور حسین خان دنبك — **19286**
Solo Cynthour, Hossein-Khan, acct. Dombaque

رنك رقص
تنها حسن خان سنتور حسین خان دنبك — **19287**
Solo Cynthour, Hossein-Khan, acct. Dombaque

رنك شنکول ومنکول
تنها باسنتور میرزا علی اکبر خان شاهی — **19288**
Solo Cynthour, Mirza Ali Ekber Khan de la troupe particulière de S. M. le Chah

رنك حربی
تنها باسنتور میرزا علی اکبر خان شاهی — **19289**
Solo Cynthour, Mirza Ali Ekber Khan de la troupe particulière de S. M. le Chah

DISQUES DE 17½ cm

CHANTS.

تصنیف ای نفس حرم باد صبا بارتك
آواز علیخان نایب‌السلطنة باکمانچه باقرخان — **3—12665**

Chantée par Ali-Khan Naïb-es-Sultaneh, acct. Kemantché Bagher Khan etc.

تصنیف من با جمالت نکرم
آواز علیخان نایب‌السلطنة باکمانچه باقر خان — **3—12666**

Chantée par Ali-Khan Naïb-es-Sultaneh, acct. Kemantché Bagher Khan etc.

تصنیف ترکی سالاریم سنه
آواز علیخان نایب السلطنة باکمانچه باقر خان — **3—12667**

Chantée par Ali-Khan Naïb-es-Sultaneh, acct. Kemantché Bagher Khan etc.

آواز بختیاری تصنیف اگر آن ترك شیرازی بدست آرد دل ما را
آقا غفار باکمانچه باقر خان — **3—12668**

Chantée par Agha Ghaffar, acct. Kemantché Bagher Khan etc.

آواز لیلی مجنون تصنیف خوش بود یاری یاری
آقا غفار باکمانچه باقر خان — **3—12669**

Chantée par Agha Ghaffar, acct. Kemantché Bagher Khan etc.

آواز نوروز عرب
قربان خان شاهی تار میرزا عبدالله — **3—12670**

Chantée par Ghorban Khan de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Thar Mirza Abdullah, etc.

آواز ماورالنهر تصنیف ای لعبت خندان لب اهل تو بگریده
میرزا عباس تار میرزا عبدالله — **3—12671**

Chantée par Mirza Abbasse, acct. Thar Mirza Abdullah, etc.

تصنیف ما قوم بعشق رخت بارنك
آقا حسین تزیه خوان شاهی سنتور میرزا علی اکبر خان شاهی — **3—12672**

Chantée par Agha Hossein Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Cynthour Mirza Ali-Akbar Khan de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah.

DISQUES DE 17½ cm

CHANTS (continué).

تصنیف امشب شب مهتاب است

آقا حسین و میرزا علی اکبر خان نزهور **3—12673**

Chantée par Agha Hossein Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Cynthour Mirza Ali-Akbar Khan de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah.

تصنیف کار عمل بارنك

قربان خان ناصر و آقا حسین تعزیه خوان ناصر میرزا علی اکبر خان ناصر بهگر خان بهشتور **3—12674**

Chantée par Mirza Ghorban Khan de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, Agha Hossein Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, Bagher Khan, acct. Cynthour Mirza Ali-Akbar Khan de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah.

تصنیف چرای آنکه یارنك

قربان خان ناصر آقا حسین تعزیه خوان میرزا علی اکبر خان ناصر **3—12675**

Chantée par Ghorban Khan de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, Agha Hossein Taziéhkhan, acct. Thar Mirza Ali-Akbar Khan de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah.

تصنیف عشقت نسرسریدت

حاجی امین اسمعیل خان با تار **3—12676**

Chantée par Hadji Amin, acct. Thar Ismaïl Khan etc.

تصنیف در حلقهٔ کل و مل

حاجی امین اسمعیل خان با تار **3—12677**

Chantée par Hadji Amin, acct. Thar Ismaïl Khan etc.

تصنیف کردی یارنك

حاجی امین اسمعیل خان با تار **3—12678**

Chantée par Hadji Amin, acct. Thar Ismaïl Khan etc.

تصنیف زدست جورت نه ن

حاجی امین اسمعیل خان با تار **3—12679**

Chantée par Hadji Amin, acct. Thar Ismaïl Khan etc.

تیارت حاجیانه

بحر العلوم **3—12680**

Chantée par Hadji Amin, acct. Thar Ismaïl Khan etc.

DISQUES DE 17 1/2 cm

CHANTS (continué).

تصنیف ندانم زکودکی با رنك
حاجی امین تار اسمعیل خان — 3—12681
Chantée par Hadji Amin, acct. Thar Ismaïl Khan etc.

تصنیف اسپانیل با رنك
آواز حاجی امین تار اسمعیل خان — 3—12682
Chantée par Hadji Amin, Thar Ismaïl Khan etc.

تصنیف تو از هردر که بازآئی
آقا حسین تعزیه خوان شاهی با ساز — 3—12684
Chantée par Agha-Hossein Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, acct. instruments

تصنیف کرایلی با رنك
اکبر میرزا باساز — 3—12685
Chantée par Agha-Hossein Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, acct. instruments

تصنیف پای سرو بوستانی
آقا حسین تعزیه‌خوان شاهی باساز — 3—12686
Chantée par Hassan Ghassab, et acct. instruments

تصنیف هزار سرتبه بابا با رنك
حسن قصاب باساز — 3—12687
Chantée par Akbar Mirza, acct. instruments

تصنیف عجب احوالی داری با رنك
اکبر میرزا باساز — 3—12688
Chantée par Akbar Mirza, acct. instruments

تصنیف الا ای ساقی مووش با رنك
اکبر میرزا با ساز — 3—12689
Chantée par Akbar Mirza, acct. instruments

DISQUES DE 17½ cm

CHANTS (continué).

تصنیف قمر

نایب ابوالقاسم باسار 3—12691

Chantée par Abol-Ghassem, acct. instruments

آواز دشتی تصنیف ارمنی رنك ایرانی

میرزا سید احمد خان باتار درویش خان 3—12692

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan, acct. Thar Darviche Khan, etc.

آواز حجاز با تصنیف عرب ورنك

میرزا سید احمد خان باتار درویش خان 3—12693

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan, acct. Thar Darviche Khan, etc.

آواز منصوری با اشعار منصوری

میرزا سید احمد خان باتار میرزا اسدالله خان 3—12694

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Asdollah Khan

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DUOS.

تصنیف ساقی نامه

آواز حسین جان بارمضان ساز 14261

Chantée par Hossein Djan et Ramezan, acct. instruments

تصنیف زظلمت کل مولا

آواز حسین جان بارمضان ساز 14262

Chantée par Hossein Djan et Ramezan, acct. instruments

تصنیف دختر شاهزاده حکیم

آواز حسین جان بارمضان ساز 14263

Chantée par Hossein Djan et Ramezan, acct. instruments

تصنیف نگار

آواز حسین جان بارمضان ساز 14264

Chantée par Hossein Djan et Ramezan, acct. instruments

DISQUES DE 17½ cm

DUOS (continué).

تصنیف زلف خرمائی

آواز حسین جان بارمضان ساز **14265**

Chantée par Hossein Djan et Ramezan, acct. instruments

تصنیف تاتو نگاه میکنی با رنك

آواز حسین جان بارمضان ساز **14266**

Chantée par Hossein Djan et Ramezan, acct. instruments

تصنیف هلالی زمزمه

آواز حسین جان بارمضان ساز **14267**

Chantée par Hossein Djan et Ramezan, acct. instruments

تصنیف این زلف مسلسلت

آواز آقا غفار حسین خان ساز **14268**

Chantée par Ghaffar et Hossein-Khan, acct. instruments

تصنیف ای میخانه بیرون با رنك

غفار حسین خان با ساز **14269**

Chantée par Ghaffar et Hossein-Khan, acct. instruments

تصنیف درآن نفس که بمیرم با رنك

غفار حسین خان با ساز **14270**

Chantée par Ghaffar et Hossein-Khan, acct. instruments

تصنیف آلو آلو

غفار ورمضان با ساز **14271**

Chantée par Ghaffar et Ramazan, acct. instruments

خرامان خرامان میروی با رنك

میرزا ابوالحسن داود باساز **14272**

Chantée par Mirza Abol-Hassan et Davoud, acct. instruments

تصنیف ای پری پری با رنك

میرزا ابوالحسن داود با ساز **14273**

Chantée par Mirza Abol-Hassan et Davoud, acct. instruments

DISQUES DE 17½ cm

MONOLOGUES ET CHANSONS COMIQUES.

تیارت یهودی
شعبان کدخدا با تار **11353**

Chaaban Katkhoda, avec acct. de Thar

تیارتر اصفهانی
سید احمد ومشهدی میرزا **11356**

Seyed Ahmed et Machdi Mirza

تیارتر زبان تمام ایران
شاهزاده صمد ومشهدی رمضان **11357**

Par Chahzadé Samad et Ramazan

تیارتر درویشی وگدائی
شاهزاده صمد ومشهدی رمضان **11358**

Par Chahzadé Samad et Ramazan

روی دلبری من ماباستم با رنك
حاجی امیر اسمعیل خان با تار **3—12683**

Par Bahr-el-oloume

تقلید
حاجی شیخعلی **3—12690**

Par Hadji Cheykh Ali

تیارتر شیرازی وترك
سید احمد تنها **11354**

Seyed Ahmed

تیارتر حاجی بازی
سید احمد ومشهدی میرزا **11355**

Seyed Ahmed et Machdi Mirza

DISQUES DE 25 cm

ORCHESTRES.

تصنيف مخصوص با رنك

ارکس شاهی **10356**

Par la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

تصنيف اردبيل با رنك

ارکس شاهی **10357**

Par la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

تصنيف عشق پنجهٔ با رنك

ارکس شاهی **10358**

Par la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

دو تصنيف مشق دوش با رنك

موزيك دستهٔ اعتضاديه **10359**

Par la musique Impériale „Ettezadieh"

دو تصنيف ازنوك مژكان الله كريم

دستهٔ اعتضاديه **10360**

Par la musique Impériale „Ettezadieh"

سلام شاه با سلامتی

ارکس شاهی بفرمان مسيو لمر ژنرال **10361**

Par la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah, dirigé par l'auteur, le Général A. Lemaire

DISQUES DE 25 cm

SOLI D'INSTRUMENTS.

آواز بیداد تصنیف خوش بود

ابراهیم خان یاور بابلك ارکس شاهی **15000**

Solo petit bugle, Yaver Ibrahim Khan, et la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

آواز بیات اصفهان تصنیف نواب

ابراهیم خان یاور بابلك تصنیف ارکس شاهی **15001**

Solo petit bugle, Yaver Ibrahim Khan, et la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

آواز ماهور تصنیف زلف سرکجت همه چین چین

ابراهیم خان با بلك تصنیف ارکس شاهی **15002**

Solo petit bugle, Yaver Ibrahim Khan, et la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

آواز افشاری تصنیف ترکی

قلیخان یاور با قره نی تصنیف ارکس شاهی **15003**

Solo petit bugle, Yaver Ibrahim Khan, et la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

آواز راك عبدالله تصنیف رشتی

ابراهیم خان یاور با بلك تصنیف ارکس شاهی **15004**

Solo petit bugle, Yaver Ibrahim Khan, et la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

آواز شکسته همایون تصنیف میرود و نمیرود

سلطان ابراهیم خان با بلك دسته اعتضادیه **15005**

Solo petit bugle, Sultan Mirza Ibrahim Khan et la musique Impériale „Ettezadieh"

آواز دلکش تصنیف افغانی

سلطان میرزا ابراهیم خان با لك دسته اعتضادیه **15006**

Solo petit bugle, Sultan Mirza Ibrahim Khan et la musique Impériale „Ettezadieh"

DISQUES DE 25 cm

SOLI D'INSTRUMENTS (continué).

آواز ابو عطاء تصنیف شاه پسند

16107 قلیخان یاور با قره نی تصنیف ارکس شاهی

Solo Clarinette, Yaver Gouli Khan, et la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

آواز سه گاه تصنیف ایزاف تو هر خی

16108 قلیخان یاور با قره نی تصنیف ارکس شاهی

Solo clarinette, Yaver Gouli Khan, et la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

آوازعراق تصنیف مژده به بلبل دهید فصل بهار آمده

16109 قلیخان یاور با بلك تصنیف ارکس شاهی

Solo clarinette, Yaver Gouli Khan, et la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

آواز در آمد شور تصنیف یواش یواش

16110 قلیخان یاور با قره نی تصنیف ارکس شاهی

Solo clarinette, Yaver Gouli Khan, et la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

آواز منصوری تصنیف هاتفی

16111 قلیخان یاور با قره نی تصنیف ارکس شاهی

Solo clarinette, Yaver Gouli Khan, et la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

آواز در آمد همایون

16112 قلیخان یاور با قره نی ارکس شاهی

Solo clarinette, Yaver Gouli Khan, de la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

آواز مثنوی

16113 قلیخان یاور با قره نی در تیارت دیوانی

Solo clarinette, Yaver Gouli Khan, de la musique particulière de S. M. Le Chah

DISQUES DE 25 cm

SOLI D'INSTRUMENTS (continué).

آواز بیات اصفهان تا از تو جدا شدم

حسن شمیرانی حسین خان در دو سرنا — **17759**

Solo Sorna, Hassan Chimrani et Hossein Khan

آواز دشتی تصنیف کاکا من میروم شیراز بارنك

حسن شمیرانی حسین‌خان در دو سرنا — **17760**

Solo Sorna, Hassan Chimrani et Hossein Khan

آواز عراق باتصنیف آن و رنك

صفدر خان تنها با نی هفت‌بند — **19202**

Solo Ney Haft band, Safter Khan

آواز دلاویز

میرزا علی اکبر خان در سنتور گفته — **19376**

Solo de Cynthour, Mirza Ali Akbar Khan de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, etc.

آواز ماهور

میرزا علی اکبر خان در سنتور گفته — **19377**

Solo de Cynthour, Mirza Ali Akbar Khan de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, etc.

آواز همایون

میرزا علی اکبر خان در سنتور گفته — **19378**

Solo de Cynthour, Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah.

آواز راست دوگاه تصنیف کار عمل

حسن خان با سنتور — **19379**

Solo Cynthour Hassan Khan

DISQUES DE 25 cm

SOLI D'INSTRUMENTS (continué).

زنك شترى با رنك

حسن خان با سنتور **19380**

Solo Cynthour Hassan Khan

تصنيف لزكى با رنك

حسن خان با سنتور **19381**

Solo Cynthour Hassan Khan

پيش درآمد ماهور

تنها ميرزا حسين‌قلى با تار **19382**

Solo Thar, Mirza Hossein-Gholi Khan

آواز عراق وماهور

تنها ميرزا حسين قلى با تار **19383**

Solo Thar, Mirza Hossein-Gholi Khan

CHANTS.

آواز افشارى با تصنيف

حسن خان كماجى با ساز **4—12000**

Chantée par Hassan Khan Komadji, acct. Instruments

آواز شور با تصنيف كرمانشاه

حسن خان كماجى با ساز **4—12001**

Chantée par Hassan Khan Komadji, acct. Instruments

آواز حاجيانه تصنيف تو ازهر در كه باز آئى

حسن خان كماجى با ساز **4—12002**

Chantée par Hassan Khan Komadji, acct. Instruments

DISQUES DE 25 cm

CHANTS (continué).

آواز قراباغی تصنیف ترکی

4—12003 حسین جان رقاص نایب علی با کمانچه

Chanteur Hossein-djan (garçon) acct. kemantché Naïb Ali Reys, etc.

آواز بیات ترکی تصنیف بار فراق دوستان

4—12004 آقا حسین تعزیه خوان شاهی با نی هفت بند نایب اسدالله

Chanteur: Agha Hossein, Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Ney haft band, Nayeb Assadoulla.

آواز بیات اصفهاز تصنیف کردی

4—12005 آقا حسین تعزیه خوان شاهی با نی هفت بند نایب اسدالله

Chanteur: Agha Hossein, Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Ney haft band, Nayeb Assadoulla.

آواز دشتی تصنیف کیاك با رنك

4—12006 آقا حسین تعزیه خوان شاهی با نی هفت بند نایب اسدالله

Chanteur: Agha Hossein,-Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Ney haft band, Nayeb Assadoulla.

آواز راك تصنیف ما نمیدانیم با عشق

4—12007 آقا حسین تعزیه خوان شاهی با نی هفت بند نایب اسدالله

Chanteur: Agha Hossein, Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Ney haft band, Nayeb Assadoulla.

آواز ابوایتام تصنیف، عیشم مانده است

4—12008 آقا حسین تعزیه خوان شاهی با نی هفت بند نایب اسدالله

Chanteur: Agha Hossein, Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Ney haft band, Nayeb Assadoulla.

آواز بیداد تصنیف مژده به بلبل دهید

4—12009 آقا حسین تعزیه خوان شاهی با نی هفت بند نایب اسدالله

Chanteur: Agha Hossein, Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Ney haft band, Nayeb Assadoulla.

آواز سه گاه مخالف تصنیف الا ای ساقی مووش

4—12010 قربان خان آوازه خوان با میرزا محمد خان با کمانچه

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, Tesnif par Gorban Khan, Mirza Mohamed Khan acct. Instruments

DISQUES DE 25 cm

CHANTS (continué).

آواز نوا تصنیف رقتم دو میخانه

4—12011 قربان خان آوازه خوان با میرزا محمد خان با کمانچه

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, Tesnif par Gorban Khan, Mirza Mohamed Khan, acct. Instruments

آواز قطار تصنیف یریهایریها

4—12012 قربان خان آوازه خوان با میرزا محمد خان با کمانچه

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, Tesnif par Gorban Khan, Mirza Mohamed Khan, acct. Instruments

آواز بیات کردی تصنیف ای زلف تو هر خمی کندی

4—12013 میرزا محمد خان تصنیف قربان خان اسمیل خان با تار

Chantée par Mirza Mohamed Khan, Tesnif par Mirza Mohamed Khan, Gorban Khan, acct. Thar Ismaïl Khan etc.

آواز کرد تصنیف ایخدا ایلی یارما نیست

4—12014 میرزا محمد خان قربان خان اسمیل خان با تار

Chantée par Mirza Mohamed Khan, Tesnif par Mirza Mohamed Khan, Gorban Khan, acct. Thar Ismaïl Khan, etc.

آواز کبری تصنیف کل بکل آمیختم

4—12015 میرزا محمد خان تصنیف قربان اسمیل خان با تار

Chantée par Mirza Mohamed Khan, Tesnif par Mirza Mohamed Khan, Gorban Khan, acct. Thar Ismaïl Khan, etc.

آوازحجاز تصنیف بمجنون گفت روری پیرزالی

4—12016 قربان خان آوازه خوان شاهی میرزا محمد اسمیل خان با تار

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, Tesnif, Gorban Khan, Mirza-Mohamed Khan acct. Thar Ismaïl Khan, etc.

آواز درآمد بیات تصنیف مثنوی هرسلطنت که خواهی

4—12017 قربان خان آوازه خوان شاهی با تار میرزا غلامرضا شیرازی

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Thar, Mirza Golam Reza Chirazi, ete.

آواز رهاب تصنیف الاکی کنم

4—12018 قربان خان آواز- خوان شاهی با تارمیرزا غلامرضا شیرازی

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Thar, Mirza Golam Reza Chirazi, etc.

DISQUES DE 25 cm

CHANTS (continué).

آواز دلکش تصنیف ما دیگر کس نکرفتیم

قربان خان آوازه خوان شاهی با تار میرزا غلامرضا شیرازی — 4—12019

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Thar, Mirza Golam Reza Chirazi, etc.

آواز راك تصنیف حاجی برایش تا بکی

قربان خان آوازه خوان شاهی با تار میرزا غلامرضای شیرازی — 4—12020

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Thar, Mirza Golam Reza Chirazi, etc.

آواز دشتی چوبان تصنیف چه خوش بی مهربانی

قربان خان آوازه خوان شاهی باتار میرزا غلامرضا شیرازی — 4—12021

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Thar, Mirza Golam Reza Chirazi, etc.

آواز مثنوی کجائی ایدل تصنیف ترکی کل کل

میرزا محمد خان با تار میرزا غلامرضا شیرازی — 4—12022

Chantée par Mirza Mohamed Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Golam Reza Chirazi, etc.

آواز درآمد حصار مقلوب تصنیف زهجر روی تو سوخت

میرزا محمد خان با تار میرزا غلامرضای شیرازی — 4—12023

Chantée par Mirza Mohamed Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Golam Reza Chirazi, etc.

آواز امیری تصنیف دستم بگردنت اگرآری

قربان خان شاهی با تار میرزا غلامرضای شیرازی — 4—12024

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Thar Mirza Golam Reza Chirazi, etc.

آواز قرائی تصنیف ترکی من کلندی با رنك

میرزا محمد خان با تار میرزا غلامرضای شیرازی — 4—12025

Chantée par Mirza Mohamed Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Golam Reza Chirazi, etc.

آواز سوزکدار شاهنشاهی تصنیف من ندانستم از اول که تو بیمهر و فائی

گوینده قربان خان شاهی با تار میرزا غلامرضای شیرازی — 4—12026

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Thar Mirza Golam Reza Chirazi, etc.

DISQUES DE 25 cm

CHANTS (continué).

آواز همایون تصنیف طبیب بنفشه میدهد

علیخان با کمانچهٔ باقرخان — 4—12027

Chantée par Ali Khan Naïb Sultaneh, acct. kémantché Bagher Khan, etc.

آواز مثنوی لیلی مجنون تصنیف هرکز لیلی نبود مازندران

علیخان نایب السلطنة باکمانچهٔ باقرخان — 4—12028

Chantée par Ali Khan Naïb Sultaneh, acct. kémantché Bagher Khan, etc.

آواز شهناز تصنیف انکه هلاك من همی

آقا غفار با کمانچهٔ باقرخان — 4—12029

Chantée par Agha Gaffar, acct. kémantché Bagher Khan, etc.

واز راح روح با رنك کردی

آقا غفار با کمانچهٔ باقر خان — 4—12030

Chantée par Agha Gaffar, acct. kémantché Bagher Khan, etc.

آوار منصوری تصنیف چون پی کس

آقا غفار با کمانچهٔ باقرخان — 4—12031

Chantée par Agha Gaffar, acct. kémantché Bagher Khan, etc.

آواز در آمد ماهور ابوالچپ با رنك

قربان خان تار میرزا عبدالله — 4—12032

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Thar Mirza Abdullah, etc.

آواز شکستهٔ ماهور تصنیف جان از تو است هله بستان

قربان خان تار میرزا عبدالله — 4—12033

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Thar Mirza Abdullah, etc.

آواز بیات شیراز با شور انکیز تصنیف خود بده انصاف

میرزا عباس با تار میرزا عبد الله — 4—12034

Chantée par Mirza Abbasse, acct. Thar Mirza Abdullah, etc.

آواز بری تصنیف سه پنجروزاست که یار من نیامد

میرزا عباس تار میرزا عبدالله — 4—12035

Chantée par Mirza Abbasse, acct. Thar Mirza Abdullah, etc.

DISQUES DE 25 cm

CHANTS (continué).

تصنیف فرانسه پتیح ژولی

4—12036 قربان خان واقا حسین تعزیه خوان وباقرخان ومیرزا علی اکبر خان شاهی با یکدیگر با سنتور وتار زده اند

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, Agha Hossein, Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, Bagher Khan, acct. Cynthour Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, etc.

تصنیف (ما دیگر کس نکرفتیم) (ای خانم فرانسوی) بارنك

4—12037 قربان خان واقا حسین تعزیه خوان وباقرخان ومیرزا علی اکبر خان شاهی با یکدیکر با سنتور زده اند

Chantée par Gorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, Agha Hossein, Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, Bagher Khan, acct. Cynthour, Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, etc.

تصنیف بله بله یار

4—12038 قربان خان شاهی ومیرزا علی اکبر خان شاهی

Chantée par Gorban Khan, acct. Thar, Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, etc.

آواز دوکاه تصنیف چه شود بچهره

4—12039 قربان خان شاهی ومیررا علی اکبر خان شاهی

Chantée par Gorban Khan, acct. Thar, Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, etc.

آواز مسیحی با رنك مسیحی

4—12040 قربان خان شاهی آقا حسین تعزیه خوان میرزا علی اکبر خان باسنتو

Chantée par Gorban Khan de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, Agha Hossein, Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Thar, Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah etc.

تصنیف همچو فراق بود با رنك

4—12041 قربان خان وآقاحسین ومیرزا علی اکبر خان باقر خان باسنتور که دسته شاهی میباشند

Chantée par Gorban Khan de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, Agha Hossein, Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, Bagher Khan, acct. Thar, Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, etc.

DISQUES DE 25 cm

CHANTS (continué).

تصنیف مرضیه با رنك لزکی

قربان خان وآقا حسین ومیرزا علی اکبر خان باقر

خان باسلتور که دسته شاهی میباشند 4—12042

Chantée par Gorban Khan de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, Agha Hossein, Taziéhkhan de S. M. Le Chah, Bagher Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Ali Akbar Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, etc.

آواز کرد بیات تصنیف چکنم بی تو ملك

بحرالعلوم اصفهانی 4—12043

Chantée par Bahr-el-oloum Isfahani

تصنیف کیاکی سرکوی بامد

حسن قصاب باساز 4—12044

Chanteur, Hassan Ghassab, acct. instruments

آواز کرایلی با تصنیف چوبی

علیخان نایب‌السلطنهٔ با صفدر خان وکمانچه 4—12045

Chantée par Ali Khan Naïb Sultaneh acct. sur le Kemantché, Safter Khan, etc.

آواز سه‌گاه قفقازی تصنیف کار عمل

علیخان نایب السلطنهٔ با صفدر خان وکمانچه 4—12046

Chantée par Ali Khan Naïb Sultaneh acct. sur le Kemantché, Safter Khan, etc.

آواز غم‌انگیز کوچه اصفهان تصنیف کار عمل

علیخان نایب‌السلطنهٔ نی هفت بند صفدر خان 4—12047

Chantée par Ali Khan Naïb Sultaneh acct. Ney Haftband, Safter Khan, etc.

آواز همایون لیلی مجنون با رنك

علیخان نایب السلطنهٔ بانی هفت بند صفدر خان 4—12048

Chantée par Ali Khan Naïb Sultaneh acct. Ney Haftband, Safter Khan, etc.

آواز روح‌الارواح با تصنیف با رنك

علیخان نایب السلطنهٔ با نی هفت بند صفدر خان 4—12049

Chantée par Ali Khan Naïb Sultaneh acct. Ney Haftband, Safter Khan, etc.

DISQUES DE 25 cm

CHANTS (continué).

آواز دوگاه با رنك

4—12050 علیخان نایب السلطنهٔ با نی هفت بند صفدرخان

Chantée par Ali Khan Naïb Sultaneh acct. Ney Haftband Safter Khan, etc.

آواز منصوری تصنیف زلف برخ

4—12051 حسین جان رقاص نایب علی با کمانچه

Chanteur Hossein-djan (garçon) acct. kemantché Naïb Ali Reys, etc.

تصنیف لاهیجانی من بشم بازار با رنك

4—12052 نایب علی وحسین جان رقاص

Chanteur Hossein-djan (garçon) acct. kemantché Naïb Ali Reys, etc.

تصنیف ای بت رعنا با رنك رقص

4—12053 نایب علی و حسین جان رقاص

Chanteur Hossein-djan (garçon) acct. kemantché Naïb Ali Reys, etc.

تصنیف عربی با رنك رقص

4—12054 کمانچه نایب علی آواز حسین جان رقاص

Chanteur Hossein-djan (garçon) acct. kemantché Naïb Ali Reys, etc.

آواز ماورآالنهر با تصنیف ورنك

4—12055 میرزا سید احمد خان با تار میرزا حسینقلی

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan, acct. Thar, Mirza Hossein-Gholi Khan, etc.

آواز آذربایجانی با تصنیف ورنك

4—12063 میرزا سید احمد خان تار میرزا حسینقلی خان

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Hossein-Gholi-Khan, etc.

آواز افشاری با رنك

4—12090 دستهٔ نایب رجب

Dasteh Nayeb Radjab

DISQUES DE 25 cm

CHANTS (continué).

تصنیف اصفهان با رنك

دستهٔ نایب رجب 4—12091

Dasteh Nayeb Radjab

تصنیف میخواهم از پایت کشم با رنك

میرزا ابوالحسن داود با ساز 14400

Chanteurs: Mirza Abol-Hassan et Davoud, acct. instruments

تصنیف ازدلم بیخبری بارنك

میرزا ابوالحسن داود باساز 14401

Chanteurs: Mirza Abol-Hassan et Davoud, acct. instruments

MONOLOGUES.

مانند حاجی تاج خوانده است

بحرالعلوم 11271

Scène comique, Imitation par Bahr-el-oloum Isfahani

تیارتر نمرهٔ ۱ بابا تیمور و فلفلی و میراخور

حاجی لره و حسین جان 11272

Par Hadji Loré et Hossein-djan

تیارتر نمرهٔ ۲ بستی روی تخت طویله

حاجی لره وحسین جان 11273

Par Hadji Loré et Hossein-djan

تیارتر زائیدن زنها

شاهزاده صمد 11274

Par Chahzadé Samad

تیارتر روضه خوانها

شاهزاده صمد 11275

Par Chahzadé Samad

DISQUES DE 25 cm

MONOLOGUES (continué).

تیارتر عربی وکاشی

شاهزاده صمد **11276**

Par Chahzadé Samad

تیارتر دوکور درمهمان خانه

سید احمد و مشهدی میرزا **11277**

Seyed Ahmad et Machadi Mirza

تیارتر درویش

سید احمد و مشهدی میرزا **11278**

Seyed Ahmad et Machadi Mirza

تیارتر زرین با شوهر

سید احمد مشهدی میرزا ماشاالله **11279**

Seyed Ahmad et Mechdi Mirza Machallah (garçon)

تیارتر ترکی ولری

حاجی لره و اکبر ترك **11280**

Duet: Hadji Loré et Akbar Torké

تیارتر فال گیر یهودی ومسلمان

حاجی لره واکبر ترك **11281**

Duet: Hadji Loré et Akbar Torké

تیارتر کاکاسیاه با آقاش

حاجی لوره و اکبر ترك **11282**

Duet: Hadji Loré et Akbar Torké

DASTGAH TCHARGAH

تمام دستگاه چهار گاه

DISQUES DE 25 cm

نمره ۱ دستگاه چهارگاه در آمد

Nr. 1 آقا حسینقلی خان با تار ومیرزا سید احمد خان آوازه خوان 4—12056

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Hossein-Gholi-Khan, etc.

نمره ۲ دستگاه چهارگاه زابل وموبه

Nr. 2 آقا حسینقلی خان با تار ومیرزا سید احمد خان آوازه خوان 4—12057

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Hossein-Gholi-Khan, etc.

نمره ۳ دستگاه چهارگاه حصار

Nr. 3 آقا حسینقلی خان با تار ومیرزا سید احمد خان آوازه خوان 4—12058

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Hossein-Gholi-Khan, etc.

نمره ٤ دستگاه چهارگاه مخالف

Nr. 4 آقا حسینقلی خان با تار ومیرزا سید احمد خان آوازه خوان 4—12059

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Hossein-Gholi-Khan, etc.

نمره ٥ دستگاه چهارگاه مغلوب

Nr. 5 آقا حسینقلی خان با تار ومیرزا سید احمد خان آوازه خوان 4—12060

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Hossein-Gholi-Khan, etc.

نمره ٦ دستگاه چهارگاه تصنیف شاه رفت فرنگستان

Nr. 6 آقا حسنقلی خان با تار ومیرزا سید احمد خان آوازه خوان 4—12061

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Hossein-Gholi-Khan, etc.

نمره ۷ دستگاه چهارگاه مخالف با رنك

Nr. 7 آقا حسینقلی خان با تار ومیرزا سید احمد خان آوازه خوان 4—12062

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Hossein-Gholi-Khan, etc.

DASTGAH NAVA

آواز دستگاه نواء

DISQUES DE 25 cm

دستگاه نمره اول نواء در آمد با تصنیف

Nr. 1 قلیجان شاهی صدر خان کمانچه 4—12064

Chantée par Gholi Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Kemantché Safter Khan, etc.

دستگاه نمره دوم نواء شکستهٔ کوچك

Nr. 2 قلیخان شاهی صفدر خان کمانچه 4—12065

Chantée par Gholi Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Kemantché Safter Khan, etc.

دستگاه نمره سیم نواء حسین

Nr. 3 قلیخان شاهی صفدرخان کمانچه 4—12066

Chantée par Goli Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Kemantché Safter Khan, etc.

دستگاه نمره چهارم نواء پهلوی و حسین با تصنیف پری

Nr. 4 قلیخان شاهی صفدر خان کمانچه 4—12067

Chantée par Goli Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Kemantché Safter Khan, etc.

دستگاه نمرهٔ پنجم نواه لیلی مجنون با تصنیف

Nr. 5 قلیخان شاهی صفدر خان کمانچه 4—12068

Chantée par Goli Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, acct. Kemantché Safter Khan, etc.

DASTGAH HOMAYOUN

دستگاه آواز همایون

DISQUES DE 25 cm

نمره ۱ دستگاه همایونی درآمد وابول

Nr. 1 میرزا سید احمد خان باکمانچه باقر خان 4—12069

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan; acct. Kemantché Bagher Khan, etc.

نمره ۲ دستگاه همایونی شکسته تصنیف همایون

Nr. 2 میرزا سید احمد خان باکمانچه باقر خان 4—12070

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan; acct. Kemantché Bagher Khan, etc.

نمره ۳ همایونی لیلی مجنون

Nr. 3 میررا سید احمد خان باکمانچه باقر خان 4—12071

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan; acct Kemantché Bagher Khan, etc.

نمره ٤ دستگاه همایونی بیداد

Nr. 4 میررا سید احمد خان باکمانچه باقر خان 4—12072

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmad Khan; acct. Kemantché Bagher Khan, etc.

DASTGAH CHOUR

دستگاه آواز شور

DISQUES DE 25 cm

دستگاه نمره اول درآمد اشیرن شور باتصنیف

Nr. 1 — قلیخان شاهی باسنتور میرزا علی اکبر خان‌شاهی — 4—12073

Chantée par Goli Khan, acct. Cynthour Mirza Ali Ekber Khan etc., de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah

دستگاه نمرهٔ دوم خود شور با تصنیف

Nr. 2 — قلی‌خان‌شاهی باسنتور میرزا علی‌اکبر خان‌شاهی — 4—12074

Chantée par Goli Khan, acct. Cynthour Mirza Ali Ekber Khan etc., de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah

دستگاه نمرهٔ سیم شور سلمك با تصنیف

Nr. 3 — قلی‌خان شاهی باسنتور میرزا علی‌اکبر خان‌شاهی — 4—12075

Chantée par Goli Khan, acct. Cynthour Mirza Ali Ekber Khan etc., de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah

دستگاه نمره چهارم شور غزال با تصنیف

Nr. 4 — قلیخان شاهی باسنتور میرزا علی‌اکبر خان شاهی — 4—12076

Chantée par Goli Khan, acct. Cynthour Mirza Ali Ekber Khan etc., de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah

دستگاه نمره پنجم شور شهناز با تصنیف بارنك

Nr. 5 — قلیخن شاهی باسنتور میرزا علی اکبر خان شاهی — 4—12077

Chantée par Goli Khan, acct. Cynthour Mirza Ali Ekber Khan etc., de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah

DASTGAH SEGAH

آواز دستگاه سه‌گاه

DISQUES DE 25 cm

دستگاه نمرهٔ اول سه‌گاه در آمد با تصنیف

Nr. 1 قلیخان شاهی، باسنتور میرزا علی اکبر خان **4—12078**

Chantée par Goli Khan, acct. Cynthour Mirza Ali Ekber Khan etc., de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah

دستگاه نمرهٔ دوم سه‌گاه ذابل با تصنیف

Nr. 2 قلیخان شاهی با سنتور میرزا علی اکبر خان **4—12079**

Chantée par Goli Khan, acct. Cynthour Mirza Ali Ekber Khan etc., de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah

دستگاه نمرهٔ سیم دستگاه سه‌گاه مخالف با تصنیف

Nr. 3 قلیخان شاهی باسنتور میرزا علی اکبر خان **4—12080**

Chantée par Goli Khan, acct. Cynthour Mirza Ali Ekber Khan etc., de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah

دستگاه نمرهٔ چهارم سه‌گاه حصار با تصنیف

Nr. 4 قلیخان شاهی باسنتور میرزا علی‌اکبر خان **4—12081**

Chantée par Goli Khan, acct. Cynthour Mirza Ali Ekber Khan etc., de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah

دستگاه نمرهٔ پنجم سه‌گاه مویه با تصنیف

Nr. 5 قلیخان شاهی با سنتور میرزا علی اکبر خان **4—12082**

Chantée par Goli Khan, acct. Cynthour Mirza Ali Ekber Khan etc., de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah

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DASTGAH MAHOUR

دستگاه آواز ماهور

DISQUES DE 25 cm

نمره اول ماهور درآمد

Nr. 1 میرزا سید احمد خان وتار درویش خان 4—12083

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmed Khan, acct. Thar Derviche Khan, etc.

دستگاه نمره دوم ماهور بیات ترك داخل ماهور

Nr. 2 میرزا سید احمد خان وتار درویش خان 4—12084

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmed Khan, acct. Thar Derviche Khan, etc.

دستگاه نمره سیم ماهور تصنیف کار عمل

Nr. 3 میرزا سید احمد خان وتار درویش خان 4—12085

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmed Khan, acct. Thar Derviche Khan, etc.

دستگاه نمره چهارم ماهور آواز فیلی

Nr. 4 میرزا سید احمد خان وتار درویش خان 4—12086

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmed Khan, acct. Thar Derviche Khan, etc.

دستگاه نمرهٔ پنجم ماهور آواز دلکش

Nr. 5 میرزا سید احمد خان وتار درویش خان 4—12087

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmed Khan, acct. Thar Derviche Khan, etc.

DISQUE DE 30 cm

دستگاه نمره ششم ماهور عراق با تصنیف ورنك

Nr. 6 میرزا سید احمد خان وتار درویش خان 012098

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmed Khan, acct. Thar Derviche Khan, etc.

DASTGAH RASTEPENDJGAH

دستگاه اواز راست پنجگاه

DISQUES DE 25 cm

نمره یك دستگاه راست پنجگاه در آمد راست

Nr. 1 میرزا سید احمد خان با تار میرزا اسدالله خان **4—12088**

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmed Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Asdullah Khan, etc.

نمره دوم راست پنجگاه

Nr. 2 میرزا سید احمد خان باتار میرزا اسدالله خان **4—12089**

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmed Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Asdullah Khan, etc.

DISQUES DE 30 cm

نمره سیام راست پنجگاه ساقی نامه

Nr. 3 میرزا سید احمد خان باتار میرزا اسدالله خان **012099**

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmed Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Asdullah Khan, etc.

Nr. 4

Ce disque n'existe pas.

نمره پنجم دستگاه راست پنجگاه نوروز صباء باتصنیف و رنك

Nr. 5 میرزا سید احمد خان باتار میرزا اسد الله خان **012100**

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmed Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Asdullah Khan, etc.

DISQUES DE 30 cm

CHANTS.

آواز قراباق تصنیف سن منی یامن سنی

قربان خان آواز. خوان با میرزا محمد خان وکمانچه **012090**

Chantée par Ghorban Khan, de la troupe particulière de S. M. Le Chah, Tesnif par Ghorban Khan, Mirza Mohamed Khan (garçon), et instruments

آوازدرآمد شور غزالی تصنیف عشق بحث

قربان خان شاهی با تار میرزا عبدالله **012091**

Chantée par Ghorban Khan, de la troupe particulière d. S. M. Le Chah, acct. Thar Mirza Abdoullah, etc.

آواز درآمد همایون تصنیف ماشیخ وزاهد بارنك

قربان خان شاهی باتار میرزا عبدالله **012092**

Chantée par Ghorban Khan, de la troupe particulière d. S. M. Le Chah, acct. Thar Mirza Abdoullah, etc.

آواز بیات کاو

شیخ شیپور **012093**

Cheykh Cheypour

آواز نوروز عرب با تصنیف و رنك

میرزا سید احمد خان باتار میرزا حسینقلی **012094**

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmed Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Hossein-Gholi-Khan, etc.

آواز منصوری و تصنیف با رنك

میرزا سید احمد خان باتار میرزا حسینقلی **012095**

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmed Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Hossein-Gholi-Khan, etc.

DISQUES DE 30 cm

CHANTS (continué).

آواز ابوالچب با تصنیف ورنك

012096 میرزا سید احمد خان با تار میرزا حسینقلی

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmed Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Hossein-Gholi-Khan, etc.

آواز شاهنشاهی با تصنیف ورنك

012097 میرزا سیداحمد خان باتار میرزا حسینقلی

Chantée par Mirza Seyed Ahmed Khan, acct. Thar Mirza Hossein-Gholi-Khan, etc.

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